

Herod and Pilate reconciled:

OR,

THE CONCORD OF
PAPIST AND PVRITAN (A-
gainst Scripture, Fathers, Councels, and other
Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion,
Deposition, and Killing
of **KINGS.**

* Discouered by

David Owen Batchelour of Diuinitie,
and Chaplaine to the right Honourable Lord Viscount
HADINGTON.

*Tunc inter se concordant, cum in perniciem iusti conspirant, non
quia se amant, sed quia cum qui amandus erat simul ode-
runt. Auguft. in Pfal. 36. concion. 2.*



PRINTED BY CANTRELL LECHE,
Printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge.

1610.

378. Devels

end

Heard and Pilate reconciled:

OR

THE CONCORD OF

PAPIST AND PURITAN (A

parallel of the Faith, Customs, and other

Observances, in the Church of England,

Deposition, and Killing

of Kings.

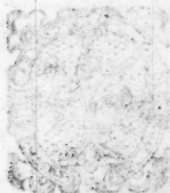
Discussed by

David Owen Bachelour of Divinitie,

and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Brouncker

Baron of Exeter.

Printed by J. Sturges, in the Strand, near the Church of St. Dunstons, in the County of Middlesex, in the Year 1640.



PRINTED BY CANTRELL, Broomfield, in the University of Cambridge.

1640.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, SIR IOHN RAMSET
Knight, Lord Vicount Hadington, one of the most Honourable Gentlemen of the Kings Maiesties bed-chamber, my singular good Lord,
and Master.

I Did suppose (my very good Lord) that the sensible opposition of *Papist* and *Puritan*, against the *Protestant*, concerning the *supremacie Ecclesiasticall*, and *Deposition of Kings*, might haue beene contriued into a fewe sheetes of paper; which I finde both tedious, and intricate: because the opponents, (though they agree against *Kings*, as *Herod* and *Pilate* did against *Christ*) are at diuers irreconcilable iarres among themselves. And no maruell, *quia mendacii multiplex diuortium*: Liers neuer agree in one tale. There are among the *Papists* three different opinions concerning the *Popes* power ouer *Kings*. The first opinion (which *Alexander Cacerius* holdeth) is, that the *Pope* hath absolute power ouer all the world, both in Ecclesiasticall, and Politicall things. The second opinion is *Belarmines*,^b who affirmeth, that though the *Pope* haue not meere temporall power ouer *Kings*, and kingdoms, directly; yet hath he supream^a authoritie to dispose of the Temporalities of all Christians, as well
Kings,

^a Alexand. Car.
de potest. Rom.
Pontif. lib. 3. c. 9.

^b Bellar. de
Pontif. lib. 3. c. 1.

The *Epistle* Dedicatorie.

Kings, as others, by an *indirect prerogative*, tending to the advancement of the spirituall good. The third is the opinion of *e Barclayus*, who auereth, that the Pope hath spirituall power to excommunicate Kings, but no temporall authoritie, *directly*, or *indirectly*, to afflict the persons of Kings, to *transpose* their kingdomes, to perswade forrainers to make warres, or subiects to rebell against them. And with him agreeth M. Blackwell^d in his letter to the *Romish Catholiques of England*, wherein he saith, that the *keyes Ecclesiasticall*, doe no way extend themselues by Gods law, vnto kingdomes terrene, to open or shur, to rosse, or turmoile any of them, they haue no wardes in them, to turne, or ouerturne Kingdomes, or to open any lawfull entrance, into such disobedient and doubtfull courses. Wherefoeuer (*most noble Lord*) any *Papist* hath laid a stepping-stone in this water of strife, any man may plainly trace the *Puritanes treading*. Although they denie an vniuerfall absolute power ouer all Kings, which the Pope claymeth, they contend for a *nationall soueraignie*, in euery kingdome, ouer Kings, to dispose of them and their kingdomes. Although the Popes (saith *Christopher Goodman*)^e for sundrie enormities, haue deposed Kings, by *vnlawfull authoritie*; the reason that moued them so to doe, was honest, and iust, and meete to be receiued, and executed by the bodie of euery common-wealth. he saith. The Statesmen of the kingdome (saith *f Lambertus Danant*) may punish their King when he transgresseth the fundamētall lawes of the kingdome, yea if he be obstinate, they may depose him of his royall dignitie. M. Bexa^g in a scholasticall disputation (one *John Iobert* beeing Respondent) did determine, that the officers of State, such as are the 7. Electors in the Empire of the Romanes, and the Three States in euery Mo-

e Galiel Barclay. conc. monarchomacos. l. 5. cap. 8.

d In the letter annexed to his large examination at Lambeth, p. 157.

e Treatise of obedience, pag. 52. 53.

f Polit. Christ. l. 6. c. 3. p. 456.

g Theſes Genevenſes, p. 249.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

marchie, haue authoritie to repressse tyrannous Princes: which if they doe not, they shall answer before God, for their treacherie against the people. Dudley Fenner an English Sectarie, iumpeth with them: He is a Tyrant by practise (saith ^h Fenner) that dissolueth all, or the chiefeest compactis of the Commonwealth, let them that haue that authoritie, as the Peeres of the kingdom, or the publike assemblie of all Estates, make him a way, vel pacificè, vel cum bello, either by peaceable practise, or open hostilitie. Cardinall Bellarmine giueth this reason for the Popes indirect power ouer Kings: * The Ecclesi-
^{h Sacra Theologia lib. 5 c. 13.}
 asticall Commonwealth must be (saith he) perfect, and of it selfe sufficient, to attaine vnto the ende whereunto it was ordained: for such are all Commonwealths that are well instituted. Therefore it ought to haue all necessarie power, to attaine to the spirituall end, but power to dispose of all temporalties, is necessarie to the spirituall end: for othervise euill Kings will foster heretikes, and ouerthrow religion, wherfore the Church hath this power. Hæc ille. Banosus a Puritane in a tractate of Ciuill and Ecclesiastical Politie, hath the very same reason, for the power of the Presbiterie: ⁱ If the Church (saith he) haue not power, by forcible meanes to compell all sorts of men to liue in order, this absurditie will follow, euen vnder a faithfull magistrate, that the Church can not defend her selfe, with her owne forces. What (I pray you) will become of the Church, when the Magistrate is either an Infidel, or so negligent, as to suffer euill to be done without punishment? and those things which are hallowed profaned, or remooued? Should not the Church be vtterly ouerthrowne in these cases, if it had not peculiar right to make powerfull resistance? Hæc ille. I appeale (my good Lord) to the consciences of all good men, whether this reason of Bellarmine and Banosus be not a wicked ouerthwarting

* De Pontif. l. 5. cap. 7.

i lib. 2. pag. 47.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

of the counsell of God, and his gracious prouidence, to-
wards the Church, yea an open bewraying of their vn-
quiet hearts, and seditious disposition. Our *Sauour Christ*
(foreseeing and foreshewing, that his *Disciples* the chiefe
pillars of the Church, should be brought before *Kings*,
hated of the world, yea and put to death^k for his names sake,)
teacheth not, to resist, or rebell, but to abide, and endure,
not with violence to withstand authoritie, but^m with pa-
tience to possesse their soules. This is a remedie against Ty-
rants, and there is no other meanes reuealed in the word
of God against persecution thenⁿ *Desertion: if they perse-
cute you in one citie, flie to another: or*^o *Praier and Patience;*
*Happie are you, when men shall doe all manner of euill vnto you
for my names sake, reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward
in heauen.* Let not man therefore resist their power, which
God ordained, but with all meeknes endure persecution
in earth, that they may be crowned in heauen. *Lambertus
Daneus* a Puritane of the best note, doth freely graunt *Bel-
larmines Thesis*, viz. that there is a power in ordine ad spi-
ritualia, to punish kings: denying his hypothesis, viz. that
the Pope hath such power. This beeing granted (saith
^q *Daneus*) that *Bellarmino* contendeth for: it doth not followe
that the Bishop of Rome, or any other Prelate, hath temporall
iurisdiction ouer that ciuill Christian Magistrate, which doth
either enact lawes against the spirituall determination: or go-
uerne the Commonwealth contrarie to the spirituall regimēt
of the Church. We confesse those lawes, and that gouernment
should be reformed, but it ought to be done, by the publike as-
sembly, by the Parliament of the kingdome, or by the Peeres
themselves of the whole kingdome. Yea in case the king de-
serue to be deposed, the Pope, and other Bishops, or Priests,
hane

^k Matth 10. 18.

^l & c. 24. 9.

^m March. 24. 13.

ⁿ Luk. 21. 19.

^o March. 10. 33.

^p Psal 50. 15.

^q Mat 5. 11. 12.

^r Resp. Danzi

id Bellarm de

montif. lib. 5.

ap. 7. pag 541

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

*have no right to dethrone him: * Verum id fieri debet: à consilio publico, à Parlamento regni, vel ab ipsis regni ordinibus,* * Neither barell better hering. (Idem ibidem pag. 547.
but that ought to be done by the publike Councell, the Parliament of the kingdome, or by the Estates of the land: *Hec ille.* Thus farre (*my good Lord*) they agree in substance, touching the *punishment*, and *deprivation of Kings*, though they vary in this point of circumstance, whether the *Pope*, the *Peeres*, or the *people* shall punish or depose them.

As concerning the third opinion, which is for the excommunication of Kings; all *Presbyteries* which are the tribunall seates of Iesus Christ (as *Beza* saith in his book against *Erasmus*) do challenge right and power, as Christs immediate Commissaries in earth, to excommunicate the chiefe Christian Magistrates, as may appeare by these places: *viz. Beza de Presbyterio, pag. 115. Thomas Cartwright* in his last reply, *pag. 65. Lambertus Daneus* in his Christian Policy, *lib. 3. pag. 232. Gellius Sneecanus* in his booke of discipline, *pag. 456. William Bucanus* in his common places of Diuinitie, *pag. 582. Hermanus Rencherus* in his obseruation vpon the first Psalme, *pag. 68. The counterpoysen, pag. 175. The humble petition to the late Queene, pag. 55. And the defence of discipline against M. Bridges, pag. 127. And this power, haue they put in practise to the glorie of Sion, against diuerse kings in the Christian world, as the said disciplinarian: * Cham- neither beareth, in more then insolent manner. Consider (*honourable Lord*) whether any King may thinke: his state secure, where every *offence*, though but suspected, doth procure a *citation*, euerie *citation*, doth inforce *appareance*, every *appareance* doth vege *confession*, or inioyne *purgation*,
and*

Theodorus Be-
za, pag. 116.
Galliel Zeppe-
rus.
Discipl. Ecclesi.

Thomas Cart-
wright.
Lamb. Daneus.
Gellius Sneecan.

Galliel Bucanus
Herm. Rencher.

The counter-
poysen.
The humble
petition.
The defence of
discipline a-
gainst M. Bridg.

* pag. 128.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

and the least contempt doth breed a contumacie, to drawe the greatest censure. These Popish-popes shall neuer be able to shewe any record in the sanctuarie, or practise of Prelates, for a thousand yeares after Christ to warrant this

Puritan-popish manner of proceeding against Princes. I like well of the opinion in *John de Parisys*^c concerning the power of the keyes. *Non quilibet peccator, &c. Every offender, neither is nor ought to be subiect to the power of the keyes, and Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, but the sinner which is subiect thereto. And therefore the said power hath no effect, except against them that are subiect vnto it, which subiection, maketh a man fit matter, whereupon the power of the keyes hath his effectuall operation. Hac ille.*

f De potest. reg.
& papal. cap. 13.
Euerie Minister
of God must rather
sub. nic his
life to the Prince
as pleasure the
admit him to
the Sacrament,
that sheweth
manifest tokens
of impietie, or
infidelitie; but
the Puritans
speake not of
the Church mi-
nisterie, but of
their Lordly
consistorie, as
the Papists doe
of the Popes
cours: who
not God but
the Deuill and
Antichrist hath
exalted ouer
Kings.

The politique Puritans meddle not with this dangerous question, of Deposing and Killing of Kings, but stand aloofe, to giue ayme, while other desperat, archers shoote, that if they misse, they may step aside to saue themselves, or in case the marke be hit, they may step in to part the stakes. I accuse not without cause: M.

Beza beeing seriously consulted by some brethern of England, whether inferiour officers, might not lawfully arme themselves, against him, who beeing lawfully confirmed Magistrate, doth take away the priuiledges, and infringe the liberties, which he hath sworne to performe to the subiects; or doth oppresse them with manifest tyrannie, &c. returned this feeble

answer, "*cogitamus & c.*" *We must demurre upon this point, not onely because it is dangerous (specially in our time) to see open such a window, but also for that we may not determine the state of this question, simply as you propound it, but upon consideration of many most waightie circumstances.* And therefore*

x Traq; in hoc
Aphorismo
i. 14. q. 1.

u Beza epist. 24.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

fore for the present we deferre our answer to your demand:
 Thus Beza murmured at Geneva, in *communis fratrum ex
 verbe*, & *ago collectorum catu*, in the common assembly
 of the Brethren, out of the Citie, and Suburbes: 25.
Iunij. Ann Domini. 1568. the very year before *Morton*
 the Popes Iuncio, came to England, to stirre vp the Peeres
 of the North, against our late *Queene*, for pretended here-
 sic, and grannie. While the proposition was demurred
 at Geneva, the Assumption was framed at Rome, and the
 conclusion practised by traytors in England; could not
 Beza answer? why did he not confesse it? or if he could,
 why doth he dissemble it? It is truth without colour that
 must direct the conscience, and settle the simple, desi-
 rous to be resolved. *Dissimulation* is but dawbing with
 vntempered mortar, *ad periculis hominum in sermone men-
 dacij*, to bring men to destruction, with the words of
 lying: and a verie readie way to bring religion to scandale
Princes to iealousie, and *male-contented men* to mutinie.
 I haue endeououred (according to my mediocritie of
 learning) to set downe the iudgement of the Church of
 God in all the former ages, concerning the *Authoritie*
 of *Kings*, and the *Dutie of subiects*, that the late learning
 of *Papist* and *Puritane*, (compared with the old doctrine
 of ancient Orthodoxals) may appeare to be as new as
 it is naught: which I offer to your Honourable protecti-
 on, as well in respect of your *dutie to God*, as of *my seruice*
to your Lordship. Your *dutie to God*: for he that hath
 made you his *instrument of honour* to saue the *Kings life*,
 doth require at your hands, the maintenance of the
Kings right. And seeing it hath pleased you, to admit me
 into the number of your servants, I hope you will fauoura-
 bly

The Epistle Dedicatoie.

bly accept of this my service, wherein I see my best endeavour, to make up the gappe against *heresie* in the Church, and *sedition* in the State. The great God, and King of *heaven*, graunt your Lordship many dayes, much honour, the loue of your Countrey; inward peace, and euerlasting glorie. From *Clarehall in Cambridge* 12. Octo. 1610.

Your Lordships Chaplaine

humbly devoted,

DAVID OWEN

To the dutifull Subject.

THe Puritan Church-Politic, and the Jesuiticall societie began together: the one in Geneva, 1536. and the other in Rome, 1537. since their beginning, they haue bestirred themselves busily (as he that compasseth the ^bearth, or they that coasted ^csea & land,) each one in his order. The Puritan to breake downe the wall of Sion, by disturbing the peace of the reformed Church; the Iesuite to build vp the ruines of Babylon, by maintaining the abomination of the deformed Synagogue. These (though brethren in sedition and headie) are head-seuered, the one staring to the presbyterie, and the other to the Papacie, but they are so fast linked behind, and tayle-tied together with firebrands betweene them, that if they be not quenched by the power of Maiestie, they cannot chuse (when the meanes are fitted to their plot) but set the Church on fire, and the state in an vptore. Their many and long prayers, their much vehement preaching, and stout opposition against orders established, their shewe of austeritie in their conuersation, and of singular learning in their profession, (as the euill fiend transformed into an angel of light) brought them first to admiration. Whereby they haue not onely robbed widows houses vnder pretence of prayer, and ransacked their seduced disciples by shew of

^a See M. Hookers preface. And the preface of Chemic. before his examen against the first part of the Councell of Trent.
^b Iob. 1. 7.
^c Match. 23. 15.

To the duiifull Subiect.

deceiption, but also battered the courts of Princes, by animating the Peeres against Kings, and the people against the Peeres for pretended reformation. And whereas God hath inseparably annexed to the crowne of earthly maiestie, a supreme ecclesiasticall soveraigntie for the protection of pietie; and an absolute immunitie from the iudiciall sentence, and Martiall violence, for the preservation of policie: These secretaries bereaue Kings of both these their Princely prerogatiues, exalting themselves (as the sonne of perdition) above all that is called God: Least they might seeme sine ratione insanire, to sowe the seedes of sedition without shewe of reason, *Cadem faciunt scripturarum* (as the heretikes in Tertullians time were wont to doe) in materiam suam, they kill the Scripture to serue their turnes: and pervert the holy word of the eternall God, by strange interpretation, and wicked application against the meaning of the Spirit, by whom it was penned; the doctrine of the Church, to whom it was deliuered; and the practise of all the Godly, (as well vnder the Lawe as the Gospel) that did belecue, vnderstand, and obey it; to maintaine their late, and lewd opinions. I haue in my hand a booke fortie several places of the old and new Testament, which both the brethren of the enraged opposite faction doe indifferently quote, and seditiously apply, in defence of their dangerous opposition, and damnable error, against the Ecclesiasticall supremacie, and the indeleble character of royallunction. Vnto the which places, falsely expounded, perverted, and applyed, I haue added the interpretation, of the learned Protestants since the time of Martin Luther, who began to discouer the nakednesse of the Romish Church, 1517. More especially insisting in the most mightie

a. The. 2. 3. 4.

a. K. Henry 8.
K. James.
Th. Cranmer.
Io. Whitgift.
Rich. Bancroft
Archb. of Cant.
Henry Earle of
Northampton.
Robert Bayle of
Salisbury.

To the dutifull Subiect.

mightie Kings, the most reuerend Prelats, honourable Lords, loyall Clergie, and other worthie men, that haue in the Church of England, learnedly defended the Princely right, against disloyall, and vndutifull opponents: which by *Gods* helpe I meane to publish, when I haue added the exposition of the *Fathers*, to confute the falshood of the *Puritan-popish-faction*, & to confirme the truth of the *Protestants Doctrine* in each particular quotation. I protest in all sinceritie, that I neither haue in this treatise, nor meane in the other, *hereafter to be published*, to detort any thing, to make either the *cause* it selfe, or the *fauourers* of it more *odious*, then their owne words, (published with the generall approbation of their seuerall fauorites) doe truely inferre, and necessarily inforce. I hope the loyall subiect, and *Godly* affected, will accept in good part my endeauour, and industrie, intended for the glorie of *God*, the honour of the *King*, and the disconerie of the *seditions*. The displeasure of the *malecontented-factions* (which can no more abide the truth, then the owles can light, or the frantique the Phisician) I neither regard nor care for. Farewell.

The L. Burleigh
L. treasurer of
England.
The L. Esmere
L. Chancellor of
England.
The L. Stafford,
The L. Cooke.
B. Iewell.
B. Horne.
B. Pilkington.
B. Elmer.
B. Couper.
B. Bilton.
B. Babington.
B. Andrewes.
B. Barlowe.
B. Bridges.
D. Ackworth.
D. Sarauia.
D. Cotens.
D. Sutcliffe.
D. Prythergh.
D. Wilkes.
D. Morson.
D. Tocker.
M. Bekinsaw.
M. Foxe.
M. Nowell.
M. Hooker, &
many others.

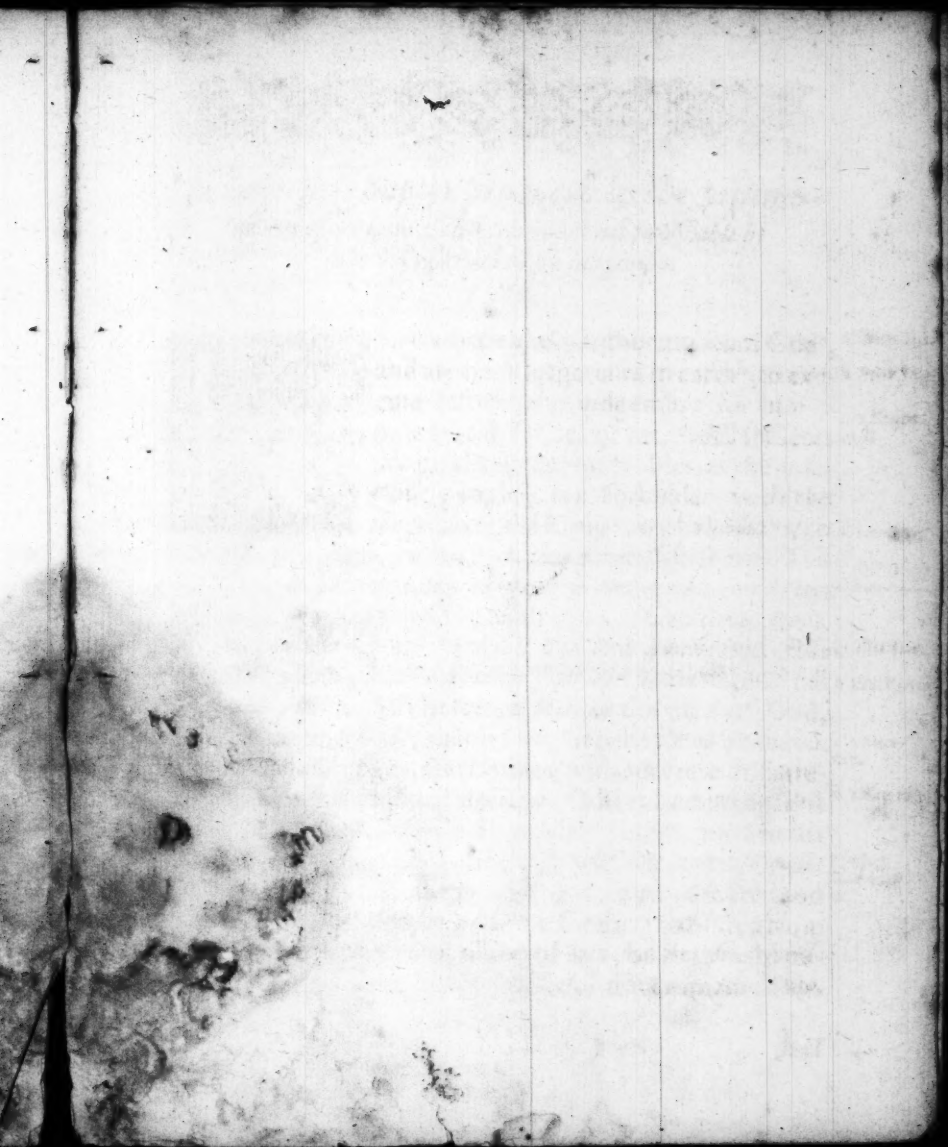
Errata.

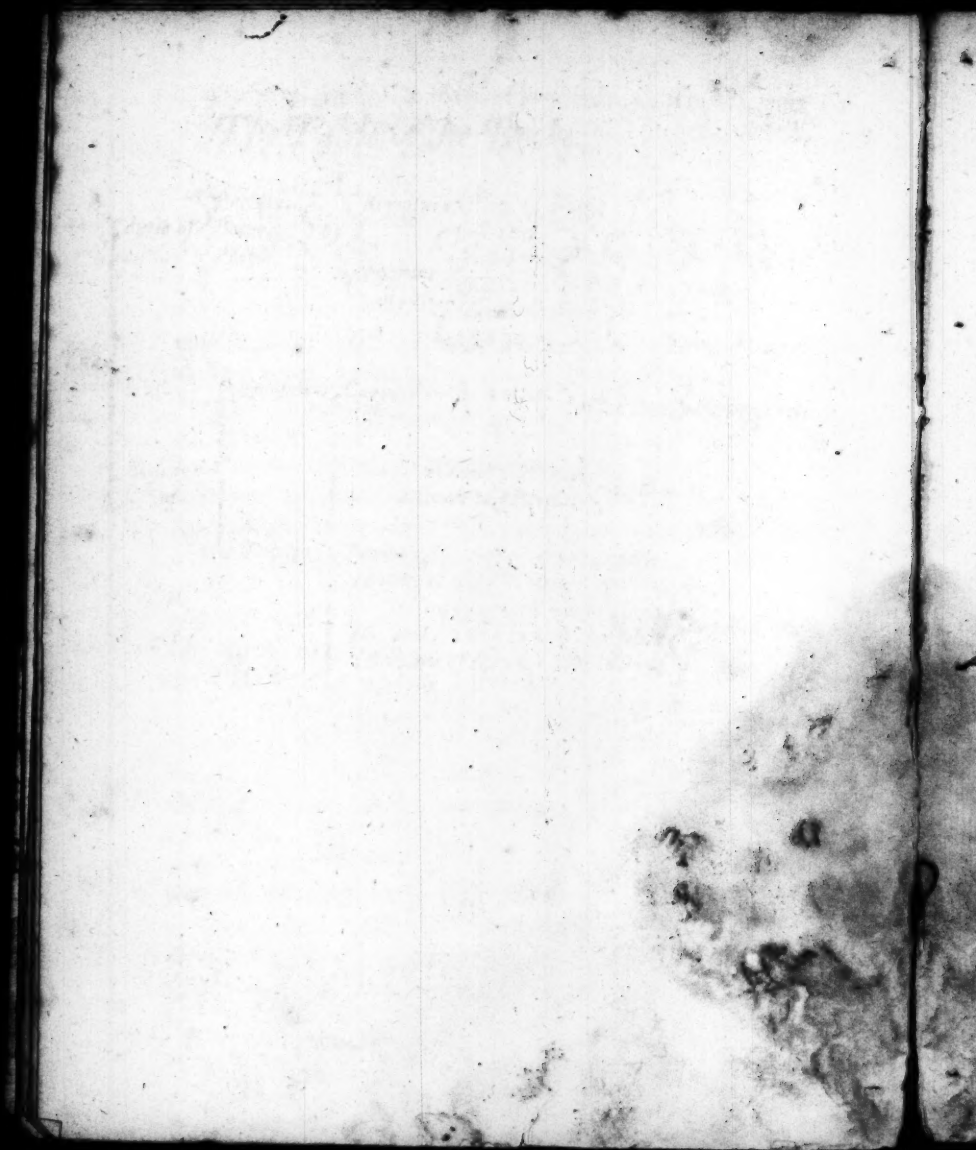
Pag. 10. l. 15. for subtilly, read subtilty. p. 17. l. 4. *presto*, for *prasto*. p. 19. l. 25. *Sabanianus*, for *Sabinianus*. p. 34. l. 27. odience, for obedience. p. 37. l. 13. his, for this. p. 39. l. 5. as very foole, for, as very a foole. p. 47. l. 1. *regnum*, for *regum*. p. 48. l. 1. Prince, for Princes.

The Table of the Booke.

Prelates,	Scripture, Chap. 1. Pag. 1.	
Peeres,	Fathers	years.
People,	of the	cap. 4. pag.
	first 300	2
	second 300	3
	third 300	4
	fourth 300	5
	fifth 300	6

The	Paritans	Concord in the matter.	of sedition.	cap. 7. p. 36
		Discord in the manner.		
Sedition	Danger of their	Prince,	cap. 8. p. 43.	
of	doctrine to	People,		
	Papists	Puritan-Jesuitisme, or the generall		
		consent of the principall Puritans		
		and Jesuits, against Kings, from		
		the yeare 1536. untill the yeare	cap. 8. p. 46	
		1602. out of the most authentique		
		Authors.		







*The first Chapter prooveth by the testimo-
 monie of Scripture, that Kings are not punishable by
 man, but reserved to the iudgement
 of God.*



KINGS have their authoritie from God, ^{a Rom. 13. 1.}
 and are his Vicegerents in earth, to exe- ^{b Prov. 8. 15.}
 cute iustice and iudgement for him a-
 mongst the sonnes of men. All subiects
 (as well Prelates and Nobles, as the infe-
 rior people) are forbidden with the
 tongue to revile Kings, with the heart, to ^{c 2. Chron. 19. 6.}
 thinke ill of them, or with the hand, to resist them. The
 great King of heaven doth impart his owne name vnto his
 Lieftenautes the Kings of the earth: and called them Gods,
 with an *ego dixi*, whose word is *Yes* and *Amen*: with this
 onely difference, that these Gods shall die like men, and fall
 like other Princes. Wherefore *Nathan* the man of God,
 must reprove *Dauid*, that he may repent, and be saved.
 And the Sages, Iudges, and Nobles without feare or flatter-
 ie must aduise and direct *Rebomab*. Othel an emperour against
 KINGS, the King of Kings hath neither commanded in his
 law, nor permitted in his Gospel. *Dauid* (such *Ambrose*) *nullo*
legibus tenetur, &c. *Dauid* though he were an adulterer, and
 an homicide, was tied to no law: for Kings are free from
 bonds, and can by no compulsion of law, be drawne to pu-
 nishment, being freed by the power of government. Thus
 saith *Amb.*

^a Rom. 13. 1.

^b Prov. 8. 15.

^c 2. Chron.
19. 6.

^d Exod. 22.

^e Eccl. 10. 20.

^f Rom. 13. 2.

^g Psal. 82. 6.

^h Psal. 82. 7.

ⁱ 2. Sam.
12. 7.

^k 1. Reg. 12. 7.

Apolog.
Dauid. cap.
10.

Saul the first King of *Israell* was rather a monster, then a man; after the spirit of God had forsaken him, and the guill spirit was come vpon him^m. There were not many sinnes against God, Man, or Nature, wherein he transgressed not; yet his excessse was punished, neither by the Sacerdottall Synod, nor the secular Senate: *Who can lay his hand on the Lords Anointed, and be guiltlesse*? The very Annointment was the cause of *Sauls* immunitie from all humane coercion: as *Augustine* affirmeth, *Quero si non habebat, Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo Dauid venerabatur*? If *Saul* had not the holinesse of the Sacrament, I aske what it was that *Dauid* reuerenced in him? he honoured *Saul* for the sacred and holy vnction, while he liued: and reuenged his death. Yea, he was troubled and trembled at the heart, because he had cut off a lappe of *Sauls* garment. Lo, *Saul* had no innocencie, and yet he had holinesse: not of life, but of vnction. So farre *Augustine*.

Who questioned *Dauid* for his murther and adulterie? who censured *Salomon* for his idolatrie: though their crimes were capitall by the law of God. After that kingdom was diuided, all the Kings of *Israell*, and most of the Kings of *Iudah*, were notorious idolaters: yet during those kingdomes, which endured aboue 200 yeates, no Priest did challenge, no States-men did claime power from the highest, to punish or depose their Princes. And the Prophets perswaded all men to obey, and endure those idolatrous Princes, whose impietie they reprooued with the losse of their liues.

Christ sed when the people would haue made him a King. He paid tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. When the question was propounded concerning the *Emperours* subdye, he concluded for *Cesar*. And standing to receive the

a Ioh. 6. 15.
b Matth. 17.
c Matth. 22.
31.

Iuxta

I A

judge

The doctrine of Subjects.

3

judgement of death before *Pilate*, he acknowledged his power to be of God¹. This *Saviour of Mankind*, whose actions should be our instruction, did neuer attempt to change that government, or to displace those gouernours, which were directly repugnant to the scope of *reformation* that he ay-
med at.

John Baptist did indeede reprove king *Herod* with a *Non*
liet, but he taught nor the souldiers to leaue his seruice, of
by strife and impatience, to wind themselves out of the band
of allegiance, wherein the *law* had left them, and the *Gospel*
found them².

The *Apostles* deliuered vnto the Church the doctrine of
obedience and patience, which they had learned by the pre-
cept, and obserued by the practise of our Lord *Christ*. *Peter*
commandeth obedience to all manner of men in authori-
ties. *Paul* forbiddeth resistance against any power³. And *S.*
Iude maketh it blasphemie, to reuile government, or to speak
euill of gouernours⁴. If therefore an Angel from heauen preach
otherwise, then they haue deliuered, let him be accursed⁵.

The second Chapter proueth the same

by the Fathers of the first 300. yeares.

THe true Church, which had the spirit of vnderstan-
ding, to discern the voice of *Christ*, from the voice of
a stranger, neuer taught, neuer practised, neuer vsed or ap-
prooued other weapons, then salt teares, and humble prayers
against the *Paganisme*, *heresie*, *apostacie*, and tyrannie of earthly
Kings.

Iustinus Martyr, *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, shall beare wit-
nesses for 300. yeares, wherein the Kings and Potentates of

A 2

the

the earth, bathed themselves in the blood of innocents, and
 professed enmity against Christ and his servants.

Ad inquisitionem vestram, Christianas nos esse professumur, &c.

Secund. Apo-
 log. ad Ant.
 imp. p. 113.

At your inquisition, we professe our selues to be Christians,
 though we knowe death to be the guerdon of our profes-
 sion (saith *Iustine Martyr* to the Emperour *Antoninus*,) did
 we expect an earthly kingdome, we would denie our religi-
 on, that escaping death, we might in time attaine our expe-
 ctation: But we feare not persecution, which haue not our
 hope fixed on the things of this life, because we are certain-
 ly perswaded, that we must die. As for the preservation of
 publique peace, we Christians yeeld to you (O Emperour)
 more helpe and assistance, then any other men. For we
 teach, that no euill doer, no couetous man, nor seditious,
 that lieth in wait for blood, can haue access to God: And
 that euerie man doth passe to life or death, according to the
 merit of his deeds: Thus saith he.

Tertull. lib.
 ad Scap.

We (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula* the Viceroy of *Carthage*)
 are defamed, for seditious against the Imperial Maiestie: Yet
 were the Christians neuer found to be *Albinians*, *Nigrians*,
 or *Cassians*, (*Albinus*, *Niger*, and *Cassius* were traitors against
Marcius Antoninus, *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, and *Seuerus* the Empe-
 rours) but they that sware by the Emperours dietie, the very
 day before: they that vowed and offred sacrifice for the Em-
 perours health, are found to be the Emperours enemies. A
 Christian, is enemy to no man, much lesse to the Empe-
 rour: knowing, that the Emperiall maiestie, is ordained of
 God, and therefore necessarily to be loued, reuerenced, and
 honoured, whose prosperitie, together with the welfare of
 all the Romane Empire they desire so long as the world
 standeth. We doe therefore honour the Emperour, in such
 sort,

The duties of Subjects

fort, as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him: we honor
 reuce him as a mortall man, next vnto God, of whom he recei-
 ueth all his authoritie, onely subiect to God, and so we make
 him, soueraigne ouer all, in that, we make him subiect: but
 to God alone: So farre *Tertullian*.

S. Cyprian sheweth many good reasons, for the patience
 of the Saints, in his booke against *Demetrianus*. God (saith
 he) is the reuenger of his seruants, when they are annoyed.
 Wherefore no Christian when he is apprehended, doth re-
 sist or reuenge himselfe against your vniust violence, though
 the number of our people be very great. The confidence we
 haue, that God will reward, doth confirme our patience,
 the guiltlesse giue way to the guilty, the innocent rest con-
 tent with their vnderferued punishment, and tortures, beeing
 certainly assured that the wrong done to vs, shall not be vn-
 rewarded. The more iniurie we suffer, the more iust and
 grienous shall Gods vengeance be on them that persecute
 vs. It is therefore cleare and manifest, that the plagues which
 come downe from Gods indignation, doe not come thro-
 rough vs poore persecuted Christians, but from him whom
 we serue, for the wrong done vnto vs. So farre *Cyprian*.

As many as liued according to Christs institution, did ne-
 uer reuile the gouernement of Tyrants, much lesse by force
 resist their violence, following the patience of Christ, who
 could by his owne power, the might of his Angels, or the
 strength of his creatures, haue at the first withstood, or, at
 the last reuenged, the iniurie of the people, the buffet of the
 Priests seruant, the scorne of *Herod*, the iudgement of *Pilate*,
 and the violence of the souldiers. He yeelded himselfe pati-
 ently to death, to teach all his disciples, that an iniurie done
 by authoritie, is patiently to be endured, not forcibly to be

John 19. 15.
 Luk 23. 21.
 Mark 15. 15.
 March. 27.
 27, 28, 29.

repelled. As ſoone alſo as *Paul* became a Chriſtian, his ſeditious and bloody ſpirit, which he had learned of the Phariſies, was changed into a deſire of peace, and quietneſſe. He honoured the heathen Magiſtrates, as *Agrippa*, *Felix*, and *Liſias*; ratifying his doctrine, by the praſtiſe of his life. I knowe that Cardinall *Alane*, Cardinall *Bellarmino*, *Ficlerus*, *Simancha*, and other vpholders of the Papall tyrannie; that *Stephanus Ianius*, *Franciſcus Hottomanus*, *Georgius Buchananus*, and other pillars of the *Pariſiane* anarchie, doe anſwear, that the Church then, as it were ſwathed in the bonds of weakeneſſe, had not ſtrength ſufficient to make powerfull reſiſtance. But theſe *Fathers* that then liued, doe convince them, and all other ſectaries of falſhood; by making demonſtration of the ſtrength and potencie of the godly Chriſtians, in caſe they would haue put their forces to the ſtrongeſt prooſe. Seeing that all publike places, as Courts, Camps, Conſiſtories, Cities, and countrey villages, were ſtored and furniſhed with men of that profeſſion and qualitie, as doth moſt evidently appeare by the words of *Tertullian*, in his Apolegetical defence of the Chriſtians: *Vna nox pauculis ſaculis, &c.* One night with a few firebrands, would yeeld vs ſufficient reuenge, if it were lawfull for vs to require euill for euill. But God forbid, that Chriſtians ſhould either reuenge theſelues with humane fire, or be grieued to ſuffer that where-with they are tried. Were we diſpoſed, not to praſtiſe ſecret reuenge, but to profeſſe open hoſtilitie, ſhould we want number of men, or force of armes? Are the Moores, or the Parthians, or any one nation whatſoeuer, more in number then we, that are ſpread ouer all the world? We are not of you, and yet we haue filled all the places and roomes which you haue. Your Cities, Ilands, Caſtles, townes, aſſemblies, your

your Tents, Tribes, and Wards; yea, the Imperiall Pallace, Senate, and seats of iudgement. For what warre, were not we, able and readie, though we were fewer in number then you, that go to our Martyrdome so willingly? if it were not more lawfull in our religion to be slaine, then to slay? we could without armour, not by rebelling against you, but by departing from you, doe you displeasure enough, even with our separation. For if so great a multitude, as we are, should breake out from you, in any other corner of the world, the losse of so many citizens would shame and punish you. You would feare, to see your selues left solitarie, euen amazed, as among the dead. You should then see, silence and desolation euerie where. You would haue many more enemies, then inhabitants. Whereas now, you haue fewer enemies, because of the multitude of your citizens, that are almost all Christians. *Hee Tertullianus.* We see by these three witnessses, that the Church of God, in the first 300. yeares wanted, neither number of men, strength, nor courage to resist persecution, and to haue established the Christian faith, if that course had beene lawfull: but because their Lord had given them no sword to strike withall, they chose rather to be crowned *Martyrs*, for their religion, then to be punished as traytors for rebellion. What number of men, what strength of armes had the Church (thinke you) the next 300. yeares after it had beene backed by Princes, defended by lawes, provoked by honourable fauours, to professe Christianitie? Yet all that while, the servants of God, neither did nor would resist Apostasie, Heresie, or Tyrannie: but yielded their lines, with all submission, though they wanted neither meanes nor multitude, conuenient for any warres, as the next chapter by, preguable

ble demonstration, shall shewe. *W*hereas, *T*he

The third Chapter prooueth by the Fathers,

of the second 300. yeares, that the pleasure of Princes must be endured with patience, when their decrees cannot be obeyed with a good Conscience.

THe next 300. yeares, the Christians did as patiently endure Heresie, Apostasie, and Tyrannie, to the glorious triall of their faith, and the eternall reward of their patience. Whereof we haue a cloud of witnesses, namely, *Hosius, Iuherius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Basilus Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lucifer Calaritanus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Optatus Mileuitanus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Leo the first, and Gregorie the great.*

Hosius was a famous confessor in the Church, before *Constantine the great*, a worthie Bishop during that Emperours raigne; and after his death greatly esteemed of all good men, yea euen of *Constantinus the Arrian* Emperour himselfe, for his old age, great experience, excellent learning, and good conuorsation. When this worthie Prelate, was commanded by the Emperour, to subscribe to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, he returned to the Imperiall Maiestie, this stout, Gibbant, Christian, and dutifull answer; *Ego confessor natus inpleui primum, cum persecutio moueretur; ab hoc iud Maximiliano: I was then a confessor, when your grandfather Maximilian persecuted the Church. And if you now raise persecution, I am readie to endure any thing, rather then betray the truth and shed innocent blood. I do not like your manner of writing against Athanasius: Cease from it, be not of the Arrian opinion: Give no eare to the Earsterne*

Obsequere
e scribe
contra Atha-
nasium qui
nim contra
illum scribit
de plane
obscum,
te.

The dutie of Subiects.

9

stearne Bishops: beleue me rather, that for age might be your grandfather. Leauē off I beseech you, and call to mind, that you are a mortall man. Feare that dreadfull day of iudgement. Enterpose not your selfe (O Emperour) into the ecclesiasticall service, neither command vs in this kind, to condemne the innocent: but learne rather of vs. God hath entrusted your Maiestie with the Empire, and committed vnto vs, the seruice of the Church: he that with an enuious eie, maligneth your imperiall soueraigntie, contradicteth the ordinance of God. Take heede (O Prince) least drawing to your selfe the right of the Church, you become guiltie of grieuous transgression. It is written, Giue vnto Cēsar the things that are Cēsars, and to God the things that appertaine to God: it is therefore, neither lawfull for vs Priests, to vsurpe your kingdome: nor for you Princes, to meddle with the sacred seruice, and sacrifices of the Church. Thus farre *Hosius*. You see the grounds, that this good Bishop stood vpon: rather resoluēd to suffer any death or torture, then by his consent to betray the truth, or to condemne the guiltlesse. He admonisheth freely, and reprooueth sharply, he offreth his life to the Princes pleasure: It was farre from his meaning, to reuile the sacred maiestie, or to stirre vp any rebellion, against this hereticall Emperour, which infringed the *Canons* of the Church, without all regard of truth or equitie, to serue the humors of the Arrians, and to wreck his anger on them all, which yeelded not to that heresie.

*Hosius apud
Achaia ad so-
litarium vi-
tam agens.*

Liberius a Bishop of Rome, did neither excommunicate nor depose this wicked Emperour *Constantinus*, but appeared at his commaund, and endured his pleasure,

Liberius quo
supra apud
Athan.

Ad 93.

sure, to the admiration of the Arrians, and the confirmation of the Christians, as we finde in *Athanasius*, *Trahitur Liberius ad imperatorem, &c.* *Liberius* was haled to the Emperour, when he came to his presence he spake freely, Cease (said he) O Emperour, to persecute the Christians, goe not about, by any meanes, to bring hereticall impietie into the Church of God. We are readie, rather to endure any torture, then to be called Arrians. Compell vs not to become enemies vnto Christ. Fight not against him (we beseech you) that hath bestowed the Empire vpon you. Render not impietie to him for his grace, persecute them not which beleue in him, least you heare, *it is hard for thee to kicke against the pricke.* Oh would to God you did so heare it that you might (as Paul did) beleue it. Loe we are at hand, and come to your presence, before our enemies the Arrians can inuent any thing to enforme against vs, we hastened to come at your commande, though we were assured of banishment: that we might abide our punishment, before any crime could be obiected, much lesse prooued against vs. Whereby it may appeare, that all Christians are (as we now be) ynderferuedly punished, and the crimes laid to their charge not true but fained by sycophancy or deceitfull subtilly. Thus spake *Liberius*, & euery man admired his resolution: but the Emperour for answer commanded him to banishment. Thus farre he.

Pope *Liberius* had not learned the language of his successor *Pius Quintus*, when he bellowed against our late Queene, nor that principle of the *Puritanes*, that the inferior officer may vse force of armes against the cheife

The dutie of Subjects.

11

cheise Magistrate that shall become a tyrant (*whereof every seditious seclarie will be iudge*) and not onely defend himselfe, and his owne people, but also any other that shall stie vnto him. Which opinion *Lambertus Danaus* auoucheth, contrarie to the Law, the Gospel, and the generall consent of all orthodoxall Fathers.

Politia Christian. l. 6. c. 2.

Hilarius, a Bishop of France, wrote the same time to this same Emperour in most humble manner, *Benefica natura tua domine beatissime Auguste*: Your mild nature, most blessed Emperour, agreeing with your gracious disposition, and the mercie which floweth abundantly, from the fountaine of your fatherly godlinesse, doe assure vs, that we shall obtaine our desire. We beseech you, not onely with words, but also with teares, that the catholique Churches, be no longer oppressed with greuous iniuries, and endure intollerable persecutions, and contumelies, and that (which is most shamefull) euen of our brethren. Let your Clemencie provide, &c.

Hilarius ad Imperatorem Constant.

Surely, if it had then beene knowne, that the Pope, by his absolute power or indirect authoritie, could haue punished or deposed kings, which the Papists auouch, or for the Peeres or the people to haue done it, which the *Puritanes* affirme, some of these olde Bishops, would haue pressed that point against this hereticall Prince, which abused his sword, to the blaspheming of Christ, the murdering of the Saints, the seducing of many thousand soules: by strengthening, maintaining, and establishing the Arrian error. But they tooke it to be no Christian mans part, to beare armour (no not defensive) against his Prince, though neuer so wicked,

cruell

cruell or vngodly.

Holy *Athanasius* confesseth the power of Kings to be of God, and their impietie not to be punished by man.

Sicut in toto mundo. Deus rex est & imperator & potestatem

exercet in omnibus: As God is King and Emperour ouer

all the world, and exerciseth his power in all creatures:

so the King and Prince is ouer all earthly men, and doth

Ad Antioch.
quest. 55.

by his absolute power, what he will, euen as God him-

selfe. *hec ille.*

When it was objected against this reuerend father

Athanasius, that he had incensed *Constans* the religious

Emperour of the West, against *Constantius*, in the be-

behalf of the persecuted Christians: he cleared him-

Apolog. A-
than. ad
Constant.

selfe from that accusation, in an Apologie to the saide

Emperour *Constantius*. The Lord (saith he) is my re-

cord, and his annointed your brother, that I neuer made

mention of your Maiestie for any euill, before your bro-

ther of blessed memorie, that religious Emperour *Con-*

stans. I did neuer incite him against you, as these Arri-

ans doe slander me, but whensoever I had accessse vnto

him, I recounted your gracious inclination. God know-

eth, what mention I made of your godly disposition.

Giue me leaue and pardon (most courteous Emperour)

to speake the truth. That seruant of God *Constans*, was

not easly drawne to giue care to any man in this kind. I

was neuer in such credit with him, that I durst speake of

any such matter, or derogate from one brother before

an other, or talke reprochfully of one Emperour, in the

hearing of an other. I am not so madde; neither haue I

forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the

King in thine heart, and backbite not the mightie in the

secrets

secrets of thy chamber; for the birds of the ayre shall tell it, and the winged foule shall bewray thee. If then, the things that be spoken in secret against Princes, can not be hid; is there any likelihood, that I in the Emperours presence; and before so many, as continually attended his person, would say any thing otherwise then well of your Maiestie? Thus farre *Athanas.* This is sounder and seemelier doctrine for subiects, then that which *Henrie Garnet*, and *Robert Tesmond*, taught some Romish catholike gentlemen of England, who imployed *Thomas Winter* into *Spain*, in the moneth of December, *Ann. Dom.* 1601. to make request to the Spanish king, in the behalfe and names of the English Pope-catholikes, that he would send an armie hither into England, for the advancement of their Catholique caule; and to promise, that the forces of the *Papists* here, should be readie to doe him service against the late *Queene*.

L. Cooke in his speech at Garnets arraignment.

The selfe same doctrine of sedition, was published in the yeare after, *viz. ann. Dom.* 1602: by *Gulielmus Bucaninus*, a man of no meane esteeme among the *Puritans*, and that, at the earnest request of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, the chiefest Ministers of the Chutch of *Geneva*, (if the author himselfe belie them not,) whose words are as followeth: *Subditis si sit publica & manifesta servitia, licet fieri supplices, implorare auxilia ab alijs, & suscipere eorum defensionem alijs regibus licet: Subiects, when they endure publike and manifest wrong, may lawfully become suppliants to foraine states; and crave their ayde against their Princes and other Kings, ought to take vpon them their defence and protection. So farre Bucan.*

loc. cit. Theol. loco. 77. pag. 845.

Subiects must square their subiection, according to

the rule of Gods word, not after the affection and fancies of men. ^a *Saul* commanded *Dag* to murder 85. Priests, to destroy their citie, men, women, and children with the edge of the sword. Did *David*, for whome they were slaine, when he had *Saul* in his power, take reuenge, or suffer his seruants to doe it, when they were readie and offered themselves to slay *Saul*? *David*^b defiled *Vrias* his bed, and caused him to be killed: Did *Absolon* well, to conspire against him, that was both a murderer and an adulterer? *Salomon*^c brought into the land many strange wiues, and as many different religions into the Church: Did the high Priest, the Peeres, the Prophets, or the people, offer to chastice or depose him? *Achab*^d suffered *Iezabel* to put *Naboth* to death, and to kill the Lords Prophets: Did *Elias* depose him, intice his subjects to rebell against him, or implore foraigne aide to destroy him? *Herod*^e beheaded *John Baptist*, killed *Iames*, imprisoned *Peter*, and would haue slaine him also, if he had not beene deliuered by an Angel: Did *Peter* take vengeance on *Herod*, which he might haue done with a word, as well as on ^f *Ananias*? No: he did leaue him to the Lord, whose iudgement ensued in most fearefull manner. In a word, wicked Princes haue neuer beene lawfully punished by Prelates, Potentates, or people of their kingdom, as the *Papists* and *Puritans* averre: but must be referred to the iudgement of God, as the *Protestants* affirme.

Gregorie Nazianzen in his oration at the funerall of *S. Basil*, reporteth, that the Emperours Deputie in *Pontus*, commanded *S. Basil* to put out a widow, that had taken sanctuarie to saue her selfe from forced mariage. The Bishop (not willing to violate the Ecclesiasticall laws gran-

sed

^a 1. Sam. 22.
18.

^b 2. Sam. 11. 4.
17.

^c 1. Reg. 11. 3.

^d 1. Reg. 21. 3.
9.

^e Mar. 7. 27.
Act. 12. 2. 4.

^f Act. 5. 5.

^g Act. 12. 3.

Basilius magnus.

ted by the Imperiall Maiestie) refused so to doe. The gouernor called the Bishop before him, threatened to whip him, and to teare his flesh with iron hookes: the people hearing that indignitie offered to the Bishop, fell to an vprore, and would haue slaine the Lieftenant, *had not that innocent man of God, with much ado, staid that furious tumult, and deliuered his persecutor from that perill, to whose pleasure he did afterward submit himselfe.*

Monodia
Nazian. inter
opuscula Ba-
siliij fol. 95.

The same *Nazianzen*, for his admirable learning called the *diuine*, writeth of *Iulian* the Apostata-Emperours death: *Iulian* was punished by the mercie of God, thorough the teares of Christian men: which teares were many, and shed of many, for that they had no other remedie, against that persecutor. Thus saith *Nazian*. This godly father liued vnder fine Emperours, *Constantius*, *Iulianus*, *Valens*, *Valentinianus*, and *Theodosius*, in all which time, he could find no remedie against the tyrannie, heresie, and apostasie of Princes, beside prayers and teares: The deuill of hell had not as yet hatched the distinctions of *proprie* and *improprie*, *directe* and *indirecte*, *simpliciter* and *secundum quid*, *absolue* & *in ordine ad spiritua- lia*, wherewith the *Iesuites* doe fill the schooles with clamorous euasions, the Church with erroneous superstition, and many Christian states with tragicall sedition.

2. orat. cont.
Iulian.

Lucifer Calaritanus in sundrie bookes against *Constantius*, vseth many immodest and disloiall speeches: but he perswaded not the Pope to depose him, the state to punish him, the people to rebell against him, or foraine aide to suppress him, but threatened him with the dreadfull punishment of God. He that (in the fernency of zeale) durst call so cruell an Emperour, *Theefe*, *Church-robber*,

robber, Murtherer, Beast, Hangman, Heretique, Apostate, Idolator, the fetherunner of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe, would surely haue encouraged the Pope, the Peeres or the people, to haue remoued that euill king, and placed a better in his stead: if there had beene any such opinion in those daies, as our moderne *Jesuites* and *Puritans* beare now the world in hand. As this father, in his writings, kept not the modestie of the other fathers, which liued in that age vnder *Constantius*: so he did not contigue in the vnitie of the catholique Church. *Lucifer* (saith *Ambrose*) deuided himselfe from our communion, though he were banished with vs for our religion.

Oratio in obitu
fratris Satiri.

When *Ambrose* was commanded, to deliuer vp his Church in *Milaine* to *Maxentius* an *Arrian* Bishop, he declared his resolution in a sermon to the people: which were verie sorie for his departure. *Quid turbamini? uolens nunquam uos deseram*. Why are you troubed? I will neuer willingly depart from you. If I be compelled, I haue no waie to resist: I can sorrow, I can weepe, I can sigh, my teares are my weapons against Souldiours, Armour, Gothes: such is the munition of a preist: by any other meanes, then teares, I neither ought nor can resist: so farre *Ambrose*. Not disabilitie but dutie, not want of strength and martiall forces, but a reuerend regard of the Emperours Maiestie, commanded by the law of God, kept this blessed *Ambrose* from resisting. For he might easily haue wrought the churches liberty, his owne fastie, and the *Arrians* calamitie by the ouerthrowe of the Emperour, through the force of the Garrison in that Citie, which refused, to attend the Prince to any other Church, then that wherein *Ambrose* was.

The

Oratio Ambrosij ad populum inter epistol. 32. 33

The stout and peremptorie answer of the Capitaines and souldiers, is thus reported by *Ambrose* in an epistle to *Marcellina*, a religious woman. *Si prodire vellet haberes copiam se presto futuros* : The Emperour may goe at his pleasure, they would be readie to attend him, if he would goe to the catholike assemblies: or otherwise, they would keepe on their way to that Congregation, wherein *Ambrose* was: Thus farre the souldiers. They refused (as you see) to obey, and preferred Gods true seruice, before the Emperours fauour: they reuiled not his sacred person, they resisted not his soueraigne power, but yeelded themselues to his mercy and pleasure, to saue their soules from Gods wrath and displeasure, as we find in the same epistle. *Vnum Iob miraturus ascenderam*, I went to Church to extoll the patience of Iob, where I found euerie one of my hearers, a Iob, worthie to be extolled. In euerie one of you Iob is reuiued, in each of you his patience, and vertue shined, what could be said better by Christian men, then that which the holy Ghoist this day spake in you? We beseech (O Emperour,) we offer not to fight, we feare not to die, we entreat your clemencie. Oh. it was seemely for Christian souldiers, to desire the tranquillitie of peace and faith, and to be constant in truth, euen vnto death: Thus farre *Ambrose*. Epistol. 33.

S. Augustine relateth the same of the Christian souldiers, vnder *Iulian* the Apostata-Emperour: *Iulianus extitit imperator infidelis*, Iulian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour, was he not an Apostata? an oppressor, and an Idolater? Christian souldiers serued thar vnbeleeuing Emperour. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that was in heauen: when

they were commanded to adore Idoles, and to offer sacrifice, they preferred God before their Prince. But when he called vpon them to warre, & bad them inuade any nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternall Lord, from the temporall king, yet they submitted themselves to their temporal Lord, for his sake that was their eternall king: So farre he.

Augustin
Plal. 124.

Optatus Milevitanus, is another pregnant witnesse: *Cum super Imperatorem nemo sit nisi solus Deus*. Seeing there is no man about the Emperour, beside God alone, which made the Emperour: *Donatus*, by advancing himselfe about the Emperour, doth exceede the bounds of humanitie, and maketh himselfe a God rather then man, in that he feareth and reuerenceth him not, whom all men should honour, next after God. So farre *Optat.*

De schisin.
Donatist. 13.

Saint *Cyrl* is of the same iudgement. *Cui legis pre-narratores liberare licet nisi legis ipsius auctori?* Who can acquit them that breake the law, from transgression, beside the law-giuer? as we see by experience, in all humane states, no man can without danger, breake the law, but kings themselves, in whom the crime of pre-uarication hath no place. For it was wisely said of one, that it is a wicked presumption, to say to a king, *Thou doest amisse*. So farre he.

In 1. epist. ad
Timoth. c. 2.
v. 1.

And also Saint *Chrysostome*. What meaneth the Apostle (saith he) to require prayers and supplications, in intercessions, and thanksgiuings, to be made for all men? he requireth this to be done in the daily seruice of the Church, and the perpetuall rite of diuine religion. For all the faithfull do knowe, in what manner prayers are powred out before the Lord morning and euening, for all

all the world: euen for kings, and euery man in authoritie. Some man will (peradventure) say, that, *for all*, must be vnderstood of all the faithfull. Which cannot be the Apostles meaning, as may appeare by the words following, *viz. for Kings*: seeing that kings, neither did then, nor in many ages after, serue the liuing God: but continued obstinately in infidelitie, which by course of succession they had receiued: Thus farre *Chrysost.* Our Moderne reformers teach vs that which *Paul* and *Chrysostome* neither knewe nor beleeeued, that wicked Princes are not to be prayed for, but to be resisted, &c.

See the preface before Basilic. Dor.

When the faction of *Eutiches* had preuailed against the Catholikes, *Leo* the first, had no other remedie then prayers to God, sighes, teares, and petitions to the Emperour: *Omnes partium nostrarum ecclesie, &c.* All the Churches of these parts, all we Priests, euen with sighs, and teares, beseech your Maiestie, to command a generall Synode to be held in Italie, that all offences bee- ing remooued, there may remaine, neither error in faith, nor diuision in loue. Fauour the catholiques, grant libertie to protect the faith against heretiques, defend the state of the Church from ruine, that Christ his right hand may support your Empire: Thus farre *Leo*.

Epistol. 24. ad Theodol. Imperat.

When *Gregorie* the great was accused for the murder of a Bishop in prison, he wrote to one *Sabianus*, to cleare him to the Emperour and Empresse. *Breniter suggeras serenissimis dominis meis*: You may briefly enforme my soueraigne Lord and Ladie, that if I their seruant, would haue busied my selfe with the death of the *Lombards*, that nation would by this time haue had, neither Kings, nor Dukes, nor Earles, & should haue bin in

Epist. 17. e. pist. 1.

great confusion and diuision: but because I stood in awe of God, I was euer afraid, to meddle with the shedding of any mans blood: so farre *Gregorie*. These *Lombards* were Pagans, invaders of the countrey, ransackers of the citie, persecutors of the Saints, robbers of the Church, oppressors of the poore: whom *Gregorie* the first, might, and would not destroy, *quia deum timuit*, because he feared God. It is verie like, that his successsor *Gregorie* the seauenth, feared neither *God nor man*, when he erected the papall croisier against the regall scepter, and read the sentence of depriuation, against the Emperour *Henrie: Ego autoritate apostolica, &c.* I by my power apostolicall, doe bereaue *Henrie* of the Germane kingdom, and do depriue him of all subiection of Christian men, absolving all men, from the allegiance, which they haue sworne vnto him. And that *Rodolph*, whom the Peeres of the Empire haue elected, may gouerne the kingdome: I grant all men, that shall serue him against the Emperour, forgiueneffe of their sinnes, in this life and in the life to come. As I haue for his pride deiected *Henrie* from the royall dignitie, so I doe exalt *Rodolph* for his humilitie, to that place of authoritie: Thus farre *Gregor. 7.*

Carol. Sigon.
de Regno I-
tal. lib. 9. in
vita Hen. 3.

Benno Card.
in vit. Greg. 7.

It is no wonder, that *Gregorie* his chaire claue a sunder, as some writers affirme, at the giuing of this sentence: because the proud Pope, and his wicked sentence, were too heauie a burthen for *Peters* stoole of humilitie to beare.

The

The fourth Chapter prooveth the Immunitie of Kings by the Fathers of the third 300. yeares.

After the death of *Gregorie* the great, which was about the yeare of our Lord 604. *Sabinianus* did succede him, who liued but one yeare, after whome came *Boniface* the 3. which obtained of *Phocas* to be called *Vniuersall Bishop*; since that time, *perijt virtus Imperatorum & pietas Pontificum*, the Emperours waxed weake, and the Bishops wicked. What the iudgement of those Fathers then was, concerning subiection to wicked Kings, I will make euident by the testimonie of *Gregorius Turonensis*, *Isidorus*, *Damasceus*, *Beda*, *Fulgentius*, *Leo* 4. and the Fathers assembled in a Councell at *Toledo* in *Spaine*.

Gregorie Turonensis acknowledgeth such an absolute power in *Childericke*, a most wicked king of *France*, as was free from all controll of man. *Si quis de nobis (Rex) iustitia limites transcendere voluerit, &c.* histor. lib. 5. cap. 1. If any one of vs (O King) doe passe the bounds of iustice, you haue power to correct him, but if you exceede your limit, who shall chastise you? We may speake vnto you; if you list not to harken, who can condemne you, but that Great God, who hath pronounced himselfe to be righteousnes? *hactenus ille.*

Isidorus saith no lesse for the immunitie of the Kings of *Spaine*. Let all earthy Princes know, that they shall giue account of the Church, which Christ hath committed to their protection. Yea, whether the peace and discipline Ecclesiasticall be aduanced, by faithfull Kings,

or dissolued by the vnfaithfull, he will require a reckoning at their hands, which hath left his Church in their power. So farre *Isidor.*

Iohn Damascene pleadeth not onely for the exemption of wicked kings themselues, but also of their Deputies. The gouernours (saith he) which Kings create, though they be wicked, though they be theeues, though they be vniust, or otherwise tainted with any crime, must be regarded. We may not contemne them, for their impietie; but must reuerence them, because of their authoritie, by whome they were appointed our gouernours. So farre he.

Fulgentius saith, that no kinde of sedition can stand with religion. *Cum pro nostra fide libere respondemus, &c.* When we answer freely for our profession, we ought not to be taxed with the least suspicion of disobedience or contumely, seeing we are not vnmindfull of the Regall dignitie, and doe know, that we must feare God, and honour the King, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, Giue to each one his due, feare to whome feare, honour to whome honour appertaineth. Of the which feare and honour, *S. Peter* hath deliuered vnto vs the manifest knowledge, saying, As the seruants of God, honour all men, loue brotherly fellowship, feare God, honour the King. Thus farre *Fulgent.*

Our countrie man *Beda*; for his great learning called *Venerable*, is of the same minde. *Dauid* (saith he) for two causes spared *Saul*, who had persecuted him most maliciously. First, for that he was his Lord, annointed with holy oile. And secondly, to instruct vs by morall precepts, that we ought not to strike our gouernours, (though

Parallel. lib.
1. c. 21.

Fulgent. ad
Thrasim reg.

1. Pet. 2. 17.

lib. 4. exposit.
in Samuel.

1. Sam. 24. 6.

(though they vniustly oppresse vs) with the sword of our lips: nor presume slanderously, to teare the hemme of their superfluous actions. So farre he.

Leo the fourth about the yeare 846. agnised all subiection to *Lotharius* the Emperour: I doe professe and promise (saith *Leo*) to obserue and keepe vniolably, as much as lieth in me, for the time present and to come, your imperiall ordinances and commandements: together with the decrees of your Bishops, my predecessors: If any man informe your Maiestie otherwise, know certainly, that he is a lier. So farre *Leo*.

Cap. de capitulis, dist. 15.

The Bishops of Spaine assembled in a nationall councell at *Toledo*, made this decree against periurie and treason. *Quicumq; amodo ex nobis*: Whosoever among vs shall from this time forward, violate the oath which he hath taken for the safegard of this countrie, the state of the Gothish nation, & the preservation of the Kings Maiestie: whosoever shall attempt the Kings death, or deposition: whosoever shall by tyrannicall presumption aspire to the regall throne; let him be accursed before the holy spirit, before the blessed Saints, let him be cast out of the catholique Church, which he hath polluted by periurie, let him haue no communion with Christian men, nor portion with the iust, but let him be condemned with the deuill and his angels eternally, together with his complices, that they may be tied in the bond of damnation, which were ioyned in the societie of sedition. Thus farre the fathers in that Synod.

Concill. Tol.
Canon. 1.
circa annum
Dom. 636.

I conclude therefore with these learned Fathers, that it is not for the people, otherwise then with humilitie and obedience, to controll the actions of their gouernours:

nours : but their dutie is onely to call vpon the God of heauen, and so submitthemselues to his mercie, by whose ordinance the scepter is fallen into his hand and power, that enioyeth the crowne, whether he be good or bad. A right of deposing, must be either in him that hath an higher power, which is onely God: or in him, that hath better right to the crowne : which the Pope cannot haue, because he is a straunger : nor the Peeres, or people, because they are subiects. Be the king for his religion implous, for his gouernment vniust, for his life licentious, the subiect must endure him, the Bishop must reprocue him, the counsellor must aduise him, all must praie for him, and no mortall man hath authoritie to disturbe or displace him, as may evidently be seene by the chapter following.

The fifth chapter confirmeth this

Doctrine by the fathers of the fourth

300 yeares.

IN this age of the Church, the Popes exalted themselves aboute all that is called god, & vpon priuate displeasures and quarrels, did curse and ban Princes, incensing their neighbour-nations, and perswading their owne subiects, to make warre against them, as if Christ had ordeyned his Sacraments, not to be seales of grace, and helps of our faith, but hookes to catch kingdoms, and rods to scourge such Potentates as would not, or could not procure the Popes fauour. How farre these Popish practises, did displease the godly and learned, I will shew by S. Bernard, *Waltheramus* Bishop of *Nanunberg*, the epistle *Apolegeticall* of the Church of *Leige* against

The dutie of Subiects.

19

against *Paschalis* the Pope, and the author of *Henrie* the fourth his life.

S. Bernard, in one of his sermons vpon the words of *Christ*, *I am the vine*, commendeth the answer of a certaine King, *Bene quidam rex, cum percussus humana sagitta, &c.* It was well said of a King when he was shot into the bodie with an arrowe, and they that were about him, desired him to be bound vntill the arrowes head weare cut out, for that the least motion of his bodie would endanger his life: no (quoth he) it doth not beseeme a King to be bound, let the kings power be euer safe and at libertie. And the same father in an epistle to *Ludovicus Crassus* the king of France teacheth subiects, how to rebell and fight against their Princes; *Quicquid vobis de regno vestro de anima & corona vestra facere placuerit*: Whatsoeuer you please to doe with your kingdome, your soule, or your crowne, we that are the children of the Church cannot endure or dissemble the iniuries, contempt, and conculcation of our mother. Questionlesse we will stand and fight euen vnto death in our mothers behalfe, and vse such weapons, as we may lawfully, I mean not swords and speares, but prayers and teares to God.

*Bern. epist.
321.*

When *Gregorie* the 7. had deposed *Henrie* the 4. he gaue away the Empire to one *Rodolphus* duke of *Saxonie*, that was a sworne subiect to that distressed Emperour: which *Rodolph*, in a battaile against his soueraigne Lord, lost his right-hand, and gained a deadly wound. After his death, the Pope made one *Hermanus* king of *Germanie*, who enioyed his kingdome but a little time, for he was slaine with a stone, which a woman threwe vpon him

D 1

from

Ex vita Hen.
quartii quæ
habetur in
fasciculo re-
rum scienda-
rum Coloni-
æ impresso.

from a turret, as he made an assault (in sport) against his owne castle, to trie the valour of his souldiers. Then did *Egbertus*, by the Popes encouragement ascend the Imperiall throne, whereon he sat but a while: for as he stepped aside from his armie into a mill, to rest himselfe in the heat of the day, he was discovered by the miller to the Emperours friends, and lost his life for his labour. During this hurly-burly in that state, *Walsthramus* a godly Bishop, wrote to one *Ludovicus* an Earle of the Empire, diswading him from partaking with the seditious against that good Emperour, whom the Pope had deposed. *Walsthram* by the grace of God, that he is, to *Lewes* the noble Prince, with instance of prayer, offreth himselfe in all things seruiceable. Concord is profitable to euery realme, and iustice much to be desired: these vertues are the mother of deuotion, and the consecration of all honestie. But whosoever seeketh after ciuill dissention, and incenseth other to the effusion of blood, he is a murtherer, & partaketh with him, who gaping for blood, goeth about seeking whō he may deuoure: The worthie vessell of election, that was taken vp to the third heauen, protesteth, saying, Let euerie soule submit himselfe to the higher power, there is no power but from God. He that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that be true (which some men prate among women and the vulgar sorte) that we ought not to be subdued to the kingly power, Then it is false which the Apostle teacheth, that euery soule must submit himselfe vnder power and superioritie. Can the truth lie? did not Christ the Lord speake by the Apostle? Why doe we prouoke the Lord? are we stronger then he? Doth not he thinke him-
selfe

Epistol. Wal.
quæ habetur
in appendice
Marian. Scot.

selfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? seeing there is no power but of God: what saith the Prophet? Confounded be they that striue against the Lord, and they that resist him shall perish. *Rodolphus, Hermannus, Egbertus*, with many other Princes, resisted the ordinance of God, in *Henrie* the Emperour, but loe they are confounded, as though they had neuer beene, for as their end was ill, their beginning could not be good, &c. *Hasle*.

Pope *Paschalis* seeing the bad successe of those seditious subiects, which his predecessors *Gregorie* and *Vrbannus* had armed against *Henrie*, that worthie Emperour: did perswade the Emperours owne sonne, against all law of God, nature, and nations, to rebell against his Father. The Bishop of *Leige* tooke the Emperours part, against this young Prince, for the which he was excommunicate, his Church interdicted, and *Robert* Earle of Flaunders commanded by the Pope, as he hoped to haue the forgiveness of his sinnes and the fauour of the Church of Rome, to destroye that Bishop and his false preists.

The Churchmen of *Leige* terrified with the Popes excommunication, and fearing the Earles oppression, wrote an *apologie* for themselves about the yeare 1106. We are excommunicate (say they) because we obey our Bishop, who hath taken part with his Lord the Emperour. These are the beginnings of sorrowe: for Sathan seeing loosed, compasseth the earth, and hath made a diuision betweene the Prince and the Priest: who can iustly blame the Bishop that taketh his Lords part, to whom he hath sworne allegiance? periurie is a great sinne,

Epistol. Leo-
dientium a-
pud Sino-
nem Scard.

finne, whereof they cannot be ignorant, that by newe schisme and nouell tradition, doe promise to absolue subiects from the guilt of periurie, that forswear themselves to their Lord the King, &c.

In the progresse of their *apologie* they determine three great questions: first, whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings? Secondly, to whom it belongeth to inflict temporall punishment, when Church-men offend against faith, vnitie, or good manners? And thirdly, what remedie subiects haue against their kings, that are impious or tyrannous? *Si quis respectu sancti spiritus, &c.* If any man hauing respect to the spirit of God, shall turne ouer the old & new Testamēt, he shall plainly find that kings, ought not at all or very hardly be excommunicate, whether we consider the etimologie of their names, or the nature of their excōmunication. Euen till this day hath this point been questioned, and neuer determined. Kings may be admonished and reprooued, by such as be discrete and sober men, for Christ the King of Kings in earth, who hath placed them in his owne stead, hath reserued them to his owne iudgement, &c.

Their answer to the second question, is grounded on the testimonie of S. *Augustine*, the praefise of Princes, and the authoritie of Paul. Kings (say they) and Emperours by their publike lawes, haue forbidden heretiques, to enioye any worldly possession. Wherefore seeing we are no heretiques, and that it belongeth not to the Pope, but to kings and Emperours to punish heresies, why doth our Lord *Paschalis*, send Robert, his armourbearer, to destroie the possessions and to ouerthrow the villages of the Churches, which in case they deserued

deserued destruction, ought to be destroyed by the edict of Kings and Emperours, which carie the sword not without good cause? &c.

For answer to the third question, they shew by sundrie places of Scripture, that there is no other helpe against euill Princes, then prayer and patience. *Nihil modo pro Imperatore nostro dicimus, &c.* We will for the present say nothing in defence of our Emperour, but this we say, though he were as bad as you report him to be, we would endure his gouernment, because our sinnes haue deserued such a gouernor. Be it: we must needs graunt against our will, that the Emperour is an Arch-heretike, an invader of the kingdome, a worshipper of the Simonaicall Idol, and accursed by the Apostles and Apostolike men, as you say of him: euen such a Prince ought not to be resisted by violence, but endured by patience and praier. *Moses* brought many plagues vpon *Pharaoh*, whose heart God had hardened, but it was by praier and the lifting of his hands to heauen. And *S. Paul* requireth praiers to be made for all men, for Kings and such as are in authoritie: which kings were neither Catholikes nor Christians. *Baruch* also from the mouth of the Prophet *Jeremie*, wrote vnto the Iewes, which were captiues vnto the king of Babylon, that they must pray for the life of *Nabuchodonoser* the king of Babylon, and *Balthazar* his sonne, that their daies in earth may be as the daies of heauen, &c. *S. Paul* teacheth why we ought to pray for euill kings, namely, that vnder them we may lead a quiet life: It would become an Apostolike man, to follow the Apostles doctrine: it were propheticall to follow the Prophet, &c. Thus farre they in their Epistle Apologeticall.

Epist. Leod.

Vita Hen. 4.
quo supra.

He that wrote the life of this Emperour, *Henrie* the fourth, an auncient, a modest, and an impartiall relator of such occurrents as happened in his time, declareth his dislike of the Popes practices, and the *Germanes* tumults against their said soveraigne Lord. *Magnus mun-do documentum datum est*: A great instruction was given to the world that no man should rise against his master. For the hand of *Rodolph* being cut off, shewed a most iust punishment of periurie; he feared not to violate his fidelitie sworn to the King, and his right hand was punished, as if other woundes had not beene sufficient to bring him to his death, that by the plague of the rebellious, the fault of rebellion might be perceiued: thus farre he.

The sixth Chapter prooveth the same

by the testimonie of the Writers from the 12.
hundred yeares downward.

I Will for conclusion produce *Otho Frisingensis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gratianus*, *Philip* the faire king of France, the Parliament of England in the time of *Edward* the 1. *Vincentius*, and *Æneas Sylvius* that afterward was Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*.

Otho Frising.
in his epistle
dedicatorie
before his
Chronicle.

Otho Frisingensis hath an excellent saying in his epistle dedicatorie to *Frederick Barbarossa*, *Cam nulla persona mundialis conveniatur que mundi legibus non subiaceat, &c.* Although no earthly man can be found, that is not subject to the lawes of the world, and in respect of subjection, liable to correction: Kings as it were placed ouer lawes, are not restrained by them, but referred to the ex-
amina-

amination of God, according to the words of the King and Prophet, *Against thee onely haue I sinned.* It becommeth therefore a king, both in respect of the noble disposition of his minde, and the spirituall illumination of his soule, to haue God, the king of kings, and Lord of lords, ieuer in his minde, and by all meanes possible, to take heede, that he fall not into the hands of God, seeing it is (as the Apostle saith) a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the liuing God. It is more fearefull for kings, then for any other; because kings haue none but God himselfe about them, whome they neede feare. It shall be so much more horrible for them, by how much they may offend more freely, then other men. So saith *Otho*.

Thomas Aquinas, (if the tractate de regimine principum be his) maketh three sorts of kings: Kings by election, Kings by subordination, and Kings by succession. For the first, he saith, that they which did establish, may abolish: for the second, we must haue our recourse to him that did arrogate the subordinate King: as the Iewes did to *Cesar* against *Herod*: for the last, his resolution is, *Recurrendum esse ad omnium regem deum*, that we must flie to God, the King of all kings, in whose onely power it is, to mollifie the cruell heart of a tyrant. And that men, may obtaine this at the hands of God, they must cease from sinne; for wicked Princes, by diuine permission are exalted to punish the sinnes of the people, *tollenda est igitur culpa ut cesset tyrannorum plaga*, we must therefore remouie our finnes, that God may take away his punishment: Thus saith *Thomas*.

Gratianus, which compiled the decrees, is verie peremptorie, that the Bishop of Rome, ought not to medle with

Psal. 51. 5.

Aquin. de regimine prin.
lib. 1. c. 6.

with the temporall sword, the state of common wealthes, or the change of Princes. He saith nothing indeede *de Regni ordinibus*, which in his time, and 200. yeares after him, neuer dreamed of any such authoritie. *Cum Petrus qui primus apostolorum à domino fuerat electus, materiam gladium exercebat*: When Peter whom the Lord had first chosen of all the Apostles, drew the materiall sword, to defend his Master from the iniuries of the Iewes, he was commanded to sheath his sword: *for all that take the sword, shall perissh by the sword*. As if Christ should haue said, Hitherto it was lawfull for thee and thine auncestors to persecute Gods enemies with the temporall sword, hereafter thou must put vp that sword into his place, and drawe the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, to slay the old man: who-soeuer beside the Prince, and without his authoritie, that hath lawfull power, and as the Apostle teacheth, *beareth not the sword in vaine*, to whom euerie soule must be subiect, who-soeuer (I say) without or beside the Princes authoritie, beareth the sword, shall perish by the sword: Thus saith *Gratian*.

About the yeare a 1300. began a quarrell betweene *Boniface 8.* and *Philippus Putsch* the French king, about the collation of benefices, prebends, and other ecclesiasticall promotions. Whereupon the Pope wrote vnto the said king, as followeth: *Boniface* Bishop, the seruant of Gods seruants, to his wel-beloued sonne *Philip*, by Gods grace king of France, Greeting and blessing Apostolicall. Feare God and keepe his lawe: We giue thee to vnderstand that thou art subiect to vs both in spirituall things, and temporall, and that no gift of benefices or pre-

Matth. 26. 52.

Caus. 23.
quest. 8. pa-
rag. 1.

Rom. 13. 4.

prebends belongeth to thee. If thou haue in thy hand any vacant, keepe the profits of them to the successors, and if thou hast bestowed any, we decree the collation void, and recall it, how farre soeuer it hath proceeded. Whosoever beleueth otherwise, we account him a foole: Dated at *Lateran* the fourth of the Calends of December, and in the 6. yeare of our Papacie. King *Philip* returned his haughtinesse, a correspondent answer, viz. *Philip* by the grace of God, King of Fraunce, to *Boniface* bearing himselfe for Pope, *Salutem modicam sine nulla. Sciat tua maxima fatuitas.* Little health or none at all. Philip. Pater.
 Let thy great foolishhip know, that in temporall things we are subiect to no man. And that the gifts of prebends and ecclesiasticall promotions, made and to be made by vs, were and shall be lawfull, both in time past and in time to come. For such collations belong to vs in the right of our crowne: wherefore, we will manfully defend the possessours of the said dignities, and doe iudge them that thinke otherwise fooles and madmen. Given at Paris the wednesday after Candlemasse, 1301. Questionlesse this King that did so scornefully reiect the Popes challenge pretended from Christ, would little regard the claime of the Nobles, deriued but from the people.

The same busie *Boniface*, of whom some write, that he came in like a fox craftely, raigned like a *lyon* cruelly, and died like a *dogge* miserably, would take vpon him the decision of a controversie between the Kings of *England* & *Scotland*, and commanded King *Edward* of *England* either to cease his claime, or to send his procurators to the apostolike sea, to shewe his right, and to receiue such order from the Pope, as iustice and equitie would require.

The Lords and commons then assembled in Parliament at *Lincolne* sent *Boniface* this answear in the kings behalfe. Whereas our most dread Lord *Edward* by the grace of God, the Noble King of *England*, caused your letters to be read openly before vs, touching certaine occurrents of state betweene him and the King of *Scotland*, we did not a little marvaile at the contents thereof, so strange and wonderfull, as the like hath neuer beene heard of. We knowe (most holy father) and it is well knowne in this realme, and also to other nations, that the King of *England* ought not to make answer for his right before any iudge ecclesiasticall or secular: by reason of the free estate of his royall dignitie and custome, without breach at all times unviolably obserued. Wherefore after treatie had and diligent deliberation, this was our resolution, that our said king ought not to answer in iudgement, nor send procurators or messengers to your court: seeing that tendeth manifestly to the disinheriting of the right of the crowne, the overthrowe of the state of the kingdom, and the breach of the liberties, customes, and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping whereof, we are bound by the dutie of an oath, and will (by Gods helpe) maintaine and defend with all our power and strength, &c. Dated at *Lincolne Ann. Dom. 1301. & anno Edwardi primi 29*. This was then the resolution of the state of this land: if our late sectaries *Papish* or *Puritan*, bring in any other doctrine, we may not leaue the cawsey of truth & obedience, whereon our forefathers walked to their commendation, to followe these newe guides, in their by-paths of pride, disobedience, and contempt of authoritie, to our destruction.

Parliament
at *Lincolne*
quoted by
M. Beken-
shaw.

The dutie of Subiects.

35

Vincentius in his *Speculo Historiali* hath a notable place to dissuade from sedition and periurie. *Vt pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hac sola nouitas (ne dicam heresis) nec dum è mundo emerferat.* That I may speake with the fauour of all good men, this meere noueltie (if not heresie) was not sprung vp in the world, that preists should teach subiects, that they owe no subiection to wicked kings, and albeit they haue giuen an oath of fidelitie vnto them, they are not bound to keepe it: Nay they that obey an euill Prince, are to be held as excommunicated, and all such as rebell against him, are free from the guilt of the crime of periurie. So farre he.

lib. 15. cap. 84

I will end this chapter with *Aeneas Siluius*, who died in the yeare 1464. *Sit tandem finis litium*, Let there be an end of contention, and one principall head to determine all temporall matters; let the occasion of perpetuall debate be taken away, let men acknowledge themselves subiect to their Prince, & giue reuerence to him, whom God hath made his vicegerent on earth. As that which God commandeth must be obeyed without contradiction, so the temporall commandements of Caesar, may not be resisted. But let the Kings themselves beware that they oppresse no man vniustly, nor giue their people cause to crie to God against them, for the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof: he will not forget the crie of the poore: and for the sinne of the Prince he translateth the gouernment from one nation to another. There is nothing more offensive to the greatest God the king and creator of heauen and earth, then the neglect of iustice, and the oppression of the poore: as the Psalmist saith, The poore shall not alway be forgotten,

Pius a. de or-
tu & author.
imperij cap.
23.

and the patient abiding of the needie shall not perish for euer. So saith *Siluius*.

The seauenth Chapter sheweth the concord of Papist and Puritan for the deposition of Kings, and their discord about the meanes and persons to be employed in the execution of their designements.

C*hilderick* was deposed, and *Pipine* crowned King of France about the yeare 750. The truth of which historie is this. *Childericke* voide of all princely grauitie, gaue himselfe ouer to pleasure and wantonnesse, leauing the burthen of the state to *Pipinus*, that was his Lord Marshall: Who conspired with the Nobles, to aduance himselfe, by the deposition of the king his master. To set a better colour on the matter, *Pipine* sent his Chaplaine to Pope *Zacharie*, to haue his answer to this Question: *whether should be King, he that bare the name and did nothing, or he that gouerned the kingdome?* The Pope gaue sentence with the Marshall against the King, whereupon, *Childerick* was made a shorne Monke, and *Pipine* a crowned king.

It is a wonder to see how these opposite sectaries, do insist vpon this fact of the Frenchmen, to iustifie their dangerous doctrine, and seditious conspiracies against Princes. As Card. *Bellarmino de pontif. lib. 2. cap. 17.* *Thomas Harding* against the *Apologie* of the Church of England fol. 181. Franc. *Fewerdentius* in his commentaries on *Hester* pag. 85. *Boucher* alias *Raynolds de iusta abdicatōe Henrici. 3. lib. 3. cap. 14.* *Ficklerus de iure ma-*

gistratum fol. 30. *Alexander Carerius patavinus de potestate papa lib. 2. cap. 3. D. Marta de temporali & spiritali pontificis potestate lib. 1. cap. 23. and Doleman in his conference touching succession parte. 1. cap. 3. pag. 48. And also these Puritans, Christopher Goodman in his treatise of obedience pag. 53. George Buchanan de iure Regni apud Scotos p. 47. Dancus de politia Christiana lib. 3. cap. 6 pag. 221. Brutus Celta de iure magistratum pag. 286. Phyladelphus dialogo 2. pag. 65. Franc. Hotomannus in his Francogallia cap. 12. and Speculum tyrannidis Philipi Regis pag. 27. The Papists which ascribe this deposing power to the pope, endeavour by tooth and naile, to disprove that interest which the Puritans grant the peeres or the people. First, his example served *Gregorie 7.* to excuse his presumptuous practises against *Henrie the fourth.* *Quidam Ramanus pontifex.* A certaine Bishop of Rome deposed a king of France, not so much for his ill life, as for that he was not fit for government, and placed *Capine*, which was father to *Charles the great*, in his place: absolving all the Frenchmen from the oath of allegiance, which they had sworne to their king. Thus farre *Gregorie* in an epistle to one *Herimannus*, that was Bishop of Metz in France.*

lib. de vnit.
Eccles. apud
Scard. pag. 3.

Thomas Harding concludeth from this fact, a diuine power in the pope. Can you not see (saith *Harding*) what strength and power is in the pope, which is able with a word, to place and displace the mightiest King in Europe with a word, I say, for I am sure you can shewe vs no armie, that he sent to execute his will. Is it in the power of a man (thinke you) to appoint kingdomes? can the Deuill himselfe, at his pleasure set vp and depose Kings? no surely. Much lesse can any member of his do

Confit. of
the Apolog.
fol. 181.

the same. Remember you what Christ said, when the Iewes objected, that he did cast out devils in the name of the prince of devils? beware you sinne not against the holy Ghost, who confesse that the Pope hath pulled downe and set vp Kings. Which thing vndoubtedly he could neuer do profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God, &c. So farre *Harding*.

De Pontif.
lib. 2. cap. 17.

Cardinall *Bellarmino* the grand-master of Controuerfies, cannot indure to heare that this deposition was done by any other then the papall authoritie. The Pope (saith he) *Iudicauit licere Frauncis, regnum Childerici in Pipinum transferre*. The Pope gaue iudgement that the Frenchmen might lawfully transfer *Childericks* kingdome to *Pipin*: and did absolue them from the oath which they had sworne vnto him. No man that hath his right wit can denie this to be lawfull. For the very euent hath prooued, that change to be most fortunate: seeing the kingdome of Fraunce, was neuer more potent, nor religion more flourishing, then vnder *Pipin* and *Charles* his sonne. Thus farre *Bellarmino*.

Benventus
Imolensis.

This Cardinals reason from the successe to the approbation of the fact, will conclude well for the Turke, who hath longer continued, more flourished and enlarged his state, then the house of *Pipin*. Heare in a word the true successe of *Pipins* posteritie out of *Benventus Imolensis* and *Paulus Amilius*. The first of that line was *Charles* the great, in whose time the Empire was diuided. The second was *Ludonicus Pius*, against whome *Lotharing*, an vnnaturall sonne, did conspire: who thrust his father to a cloister, and placed himselfe in the throne, where he sate like a tyrant, till he was also deposed. The
fourth

The sedition of Sectaries.

39

fourth was *Ludovicus* 2. a man vnfortunate in all his doings. The fifth was *Ludovicus* 3. whome they call *Ludovicus nihili*, or *Lewes* no-bodie. The 6. was Charles the bald, a very coward. The 7. was *Charolus Crassus*, as very foole. *Arnulphus* the eight of that progenie, was eaten with lice. The 9. was *Ludovicus* 4. in whome that race ended.

Paulus Aemilius.

Alexander Carerius inferreth the absolute soueraignie of the Pope ouer all Kings, euen to depose them, and to transpose their Realmes, from the inefficiencie of the Nobles and people. *Esto quod verum sit Papam, non deposuisse regem Francia:* Be it true that the Pope did not depose the king of France, but gaue consent to the Peeres and people to depose him, this is a most manifest prooffe of our intent: that kings haue one, if not many superiours, viz. the Barons and people of their kingdome: and ouerthroweth their position and conclusion, *That Kings haue in temporall things no superiour*, no, not the Bishop of Rome. But seeing the Barons & people, could neither iudge nor depriue him, because they wanted coactiue power, which Vassalls or subiects haue not ouer their soueraigne, it followeth necessarily, that the Pope by his princely power, as superior to the King in temporalities, might lawfully depose him. Thus farre *Carerius*.

d: poretate Pontif. 1.2. cap. 3. nunc.

D. Marta, is as peremptorie for the Pope, against the pretended claime of the Peeres or the people. *Childericus priuatus est regno Francia ob stupiditatem & ineptitudinem in administrando:* Childerick was depriued of the kingdome of France, for his stupiditie and vnfitness to gouerne. They that say he was not depriued by the Pope alone, but by them that desired another king, doe not

de temp. &
spir. Pot. tif.
potest. part.
1. cap. 23. nu.
15, 16, 17.

not answer the reasons allcadedged for the Popes soueraign power in temporalities: nay they confirme the Popes power. *Baldus* asketh this question, when the Emperour is vnprofitable, or madde, or a drunkard, may the people depose him, or assigne him a coadiutor? No, saith he, the Pope must doe it, *for the Pope is the crowne and braine of the people.* And we haue prooued before, that God did giue no iurisdiction to the people, but to *Moses* and his successors. Wherefore the vassals or Peeres which represent the people, haue no power common with the Pope, in the deposing of Princes. And in that they say, that the Frenchmen desired another king, it is a great confirmation, that the Pope hath right to dispose of kingdomes. He vseth to desire, who hath not of his owne: or cannot of himselfe effect that, which he would haue done: Thus farre *Marta.*

They that plead for the state of the *Laitie* are as confident against the Pope and clergie. *Et paucis dicam* (saith *Iunius*) *hoc fecit Zacharias ut dominus aut ut mandatarius, auctoritate instructus à domino*, that I may vse fewe words, the Pope deposed *Childericke* either as his Lord, or as a mandatarie hauing authoritie from the Lord; but he did it neither way. Nor as Lord, how could he be Lord in France, that in those dayes had no Lordship in Rome? he did it not as mandatarie, for then he ought to haue shewed his authoritie, which he neither did, nor could shewe. Christ would not diuide a priuate inheritance, shall *Zacharie* then presume to depose kings or transpose kingdomes? Thus farre *Iunius.*

Caterum quod monachus iste (saith *Lambertus Danens*) whereas this monke *Bellarmino* contendeth, that *Chil-*
derick

dericke was lawfully deposed by Pope *Zacharias*, a stranger, a Priest, no Magistrate, but (in this respect) a priuate person, though he were Bishop of Rome. Will he euer be able to prooue or defend his assertion? Can *Zacharie* haue authorie in *France*, being a stranger? can he depose the publike Magistrate, beeing but a priuate person? or transferre that principality to *Pipin* that he hath no right vnto? and commit so many sacriledges and impieties, stealing from *Childericke*, and giuing to *Pipin* another mans right? authorising subjects to violate their oaths, which they had sworne to their king? transposing kingdomes from one man to another, whereas it doth onely belong to God to depose kings, and dispose of kingdomes? thou maist see (*Bellarmino*) how many outrages this thy *Zacharie* hath committed, beside that he did thrust his sickle into an other mans harvest, and medled with the cobbler beyond his last, in that, beeing but a Priest he tooke vpon him the decision of the right of kingdomes. Thus farre *Danaus*, who is not so violent against the Pope, as he is virulent for the deposing power of Peeres, or states of the kingdome. The kings (saith he) of Lacedemonia had the *Ephors* to controll them. The states-men of the Romane common-wealth, deposed the Emperours, which were tyrants, and abused their authoritie. The French-state hath often dethroned their kings: The Nobles of Spaine may doe it by their law: And the historie of the Scottish affaires (excellently well written by * *Buchanan*) doth report that the states-men of that countrie, haue many times depriued the kings of Scotland. Finally, naturall reason, and the practise of all nations doth confirme, that the states-men in euery

Resp. Danaei
ad Bellar. l. 3.
c. 17. p. 316.

Danaus pol.
Christian. l. 6.
c. 3. pag. 414.

* *mutus mul-
lum scabie.*

cap. 13.

kingdome, may depose kings, that are peccant. So farre he. *Hottoman* in his *Franco Gallia*, hath a long chapter to prooue that this might be done lawfully, by the Peeres, or the people, but in no case by the Pope or the clergie.

Men cannot saie (as it is in the prouerbe) *nimum altercando veritas amittitur*, seeing that in this opposition, the truth is not lost, but diuided among them. For their premisses, brought together, wil vnauidably conclude, that this deposing power, is neither in the Pope, the Peeres, nor the people. Though it were, the reason of the seditious *Papists* and *Puritans*, à *facto adius*, is sophistical in the schooles, where nothing can be concluded *ex meris particularibus*; of meere particular instances. Absurd in law, *quia legibus non exemplis vivitur*, for men must doe as the law requireth, not as other men practise. Erroneous in diuinitie, *non ideo quia factum credimus, faciendum credamus, ne violemus preceptum dum sectamur exemplum*: We may not doe that, which hath beene done by other men, least we breake the law of God, in following the example of man. And dangerous in policie, as my *Lord of Northampton*, the ornament of learning, obserueth. The flie (saith that noble Earle) setting on the cart wheele, might as well wonder at the dust raised in the way, as *Gregorie* or *Zacharie*, draw counsell to power, and make that fact their owne, which was hammered in the forge of ambition, countenanced with the colour of necessitie, and executed by *Pipin*, a minister, that beeing wearie of subordination, resolu'd by this tricke; when the meane were fitted and prepared to the plot, to make himselfe absolute. The case of Kings were pitifull, if *ex factis singularibus*,

Augustad
Consen.de
mendacio
cap. 9.

“
“
“
“
“
“
“
“
“
“

The sedition of Sectaries.

43

gularibus, it were lawfull to drawe leaden rules in their disgrace. Thus farre the Earle.

The eight Chapter sheweth the danger

of this Doctrine, and the originall of the Puritan position, concerning the power of statefmen to punish and depose Princes in Monarchies.

THEse desperate attempts, suggested by the Deuill, executed by the people, encouraged by the state, & approoued by the Pope, must serue as admonitions to Princes, to humble themselues before God: *Qui non dabit sanctos suos in captionem dentibus eorum*, who will not giue his Saints for a pray to their teeth. For it is not heard (as our great King remembreth) *That any Prince forgeteth himselfe in his dutie to God, or in his vocation? But God with the greatnesse of the plague reuengeth the greatnesse of his ingratitude.*

Law of Monarchia. p. 60.

These practises therefore must be no president for Peeres, or people to follow, because God hath forbidden Christian subiects to resist, though kings raigne as Tyrants; & commanded them to endure with patience, though they suffer as Innocents. And also, because that in stead of releening the Common-wealth out of distresse, which is euer the pretence of seditious practitioners, they shall heape mischeefe on it, and desolation on themselues: as (*Aquinas*) if he be the author of the booke *de regim. principum*, sheweth manifestly. *Esset multitudini periculosum & eius rectoribus*: It were dangerous to subiects and gouernours, that any should at-

de regim. princ. l. 1. c. 6.

tempt to take away the life of princes, though they were tyrants: for commonly, not the well disposed, but the ill affected men, doe thrust themselves into that danger. And the gouernment of good Kings, is as odious to bad men, as the rule of tyrants to good people. Wherefore the kingdome, by this presumption would be rather in dawnger to forgoe a good prince, then a wicked tyrant. So farre *Thomas*.

They that are the authors or abettors of sedition, can neither auido shame in earth, nor escape eternall damnation. Though God the great Iudge do sometime permit rebells, in his Iustice to preuaile against Kings, for their contempt of the lawe of the highest, and the neglect of their owne dutie. The reward of rebellion shall be no better then the recompence of Sathan, who is the instrument of the Lords wrath for the punishment of all disobedience. It is most true that as sicke men, neere their death, haue many idle fancies, so the world before the ende thereof shall be troubled with many errors. In these declining dayes of the world, many countreys, Cities, and Cantons, renounced their old gouernment, and submitted themselves to such a newe regiment as they best liked: for confirmation of which practises, there wanted not politike Diuines, (what wine is so soure that some hedge grapes will not yeeld) to inuest the people and Nobles with the power ouer Kings, to dispose of their kingdomes. The heathen *Politicians* from whom this politike Diuinitie is deriued, knowing not the true God, and hauing no rule to direct them, but naturall reason, thought him no murtherer, but a *defender of his countrey that killed tyrants*. But this pagan principle, beeing a plant,

Chrysostom.

plant, that *Christ* hath not planted, must be plucked vp by the rootes. I can finde no ground of this leud learning, beyond 220. yeares in the Christian world: the first authors of it beeing *Iohannes de Parisiis*, *Iacobus Almain*, and *Marsilius Patavinus*: *Vbi peccat rex in temporalibus*, saith *Iohannes de parisii*, *papa non habet ipsum corrigere*: which the king offendeth in the temporall gouernement, the Pope hath no authoritie to correct him, but the Barons or Peeres of the Realme, and if they either cannot, or dare not meddle with him, they may craue the the Churches aide to suppress him: so farre *Iohn of Paris*.

Ioh. de Paris de potest. regia & papali cap. 14.

Tota communitas (saith *Iacob Almain*) *potestatem habet principem deponere*. All the communalty, hath power to depose their Prince, which power the communalty of France vsed, when they depriued their king, not so much for his impietie, as for his disabilitie to manage so great a charge: so farre *Almain*. *Regis depositio & alterius institutio* (saith *Marsilius Patavinus*) the deposition of a king, and the institution of another in his place, belongeth not to the Bishop of Rome, to any priest, or to the colledge of priests, but to the vniuersall multitude of the subiects. So farre he.

Iacob Almain de potest. ecclesi. cap. 1.

Marsil. Patav. de translatione imperij cap. 6.

From these, the *Puritans* haue learned their error, of the power of *States-men* ouer *Kings*, then which, no opinion can be more daungerous: where the Nobilitie are as readie to practise, as the *Puritan* preachers are to prescribe. What presumption is it in men, to passe the bounds which God hath set them, to controll the wisdom of the Lord, and his vnspeakable goodnes, when he maketh triall of the patience of his Saints, by the outrage and tyrannie of cruell kings, that they which are

found patient in trouble, constant in truth, and loyall in subiection, may be crowned with glorie. Were we perswaded, that the *hearts of Kings are in Gods hand*, that the haire of our head are numbred, and that no affliction can befall vs, which God doth not dispose to the exercise of our faith, the triall of our constancie, or the punishment of our sinne, we would as well admire the iustice of God, in permitting tyrants, that our sinnes may be iudged, and punished in this world, as praise his mercie and fauour, in giuing rest to his seruants, vnder the protection of godly and gracious princes.

The ninth Chapter sheweth the generall consent of the Moderne Puritans touching the coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings whome they call tyrants.

THE Citizens of *Geneua*, changed the gouernment from a *Monarchie* to a *Democratie* in the yeare of Christ, 1536. In the which yeare, *John Calvin* came into that Citie, to visit his freind *Farelus*; And was chosen the publike reader of diuinitie. At his first coming thither, he published his *Theologicall institutions*. Wherein he doth verie learnedly, and Christianly intreat of the authoritie of princes, and the dutie of subiects. One onely place is harthe, and dangerous: deliuered in obscure, and doubtfull termes, to excuse (as I conceiue) the outrage of the Citizens, against their prince, whom they had not many weekes before expelled: not to authorise other men to attempt the like against their soveraigne Magistrates. His words are these, *Si qui sunt*
popu-

populares Magistratus, ad moderandam regnum libidinem constituti. If there be any popular Magistrates, to reſtraine the licentiousneſſe of Kings, of which kinde were the Ephori oppoſed againſt the Lacedemonian Kings, the Tribunes of the people, which curbed the Romane Conſuls, and the Demarchie which bridled the Senate of Athens; And ſuch peradventure as things now ſtand are the three ſtates in euery kingdome, aſſembled in Parliament. I doe not denie, but theſe in regard of their dutie, ſtand bound to repreſſe the vnrulineſſe of licentious kings: Nay, I affirme, that if they doe but winke at at thoſe kings, which pecuiſhly make hauock of their people, and inſult againſt their communaltie, that they want not the guilt of hainous treacherie, becauſe they betray the libertie of the people, whoſe guardians they know themſelues to be appointed. Thus ſaſſe Calvin. Since which time all *Puritans* haue turned his conjunction *conditionall*, into an *illative*, his aduerb of doubting to an *affirmative*, and his permiſſive, *non veto*, into a verb of the *imperative moode*, in their books of regiment ſecular, and diſcipline Eccleſiaſticall.

Iuſtit. l. 4. c.
20. ſe. 2. 31.

Chriſtopher Goodman, publiſhed a treatiſe of obedience at Geneva, not without the verie good liking and approbation of the beſt learned in that citie, 1557. wherein he affirmeth, That if Magiſtrates tranſgreſſe Gods lawe themſelues, and command others to doe the like, they looſe that honour, and obedience which otherwiſe is due vnto them: and ought no more to be taken for Magiſtrates: but to be examined and puniſhed as private tranſgreſſors: ſo ſaſſe Goodman.

pag. 115.

Much about the ſame time was Knoxe his appellation

prin-

Geneva,
fol. 36.

printed in the same place, wherein he seareth not to affirme, That it had beene the durie of the Nobilitie, Judges, Rulers, and people of England not onely to haue resisted *Marie*, that *Iezabel* whom they call their *Queene*, but also to haue punished her to the death, with all such as should haue assisted her, what time that she opely began to suppress Christ's Gospel, to shed the blood of the Saints, and to erect that most deuillish Idolatrie, the papisticall abominations, and his vsurped tyrannie. Thus farre *Knox*.

pag. 216.

Ann. 1560. *Theodore Beza* printed his *Confessions*, wherein he auoucheth, That there are vices inherent in the persons of Princes, though they be lawfully established, by succession, or election, viz. Vngodlinesse, couerousnesse, ambition, crueltie, luxurie, lecherie, and such like sinnes which tyrants delight in. What shall be done in this case to these Prince? I answer (saith he) that it belongeth to the superiour powers, such as are the 7. electors in the Empire, and the statesmen of the kingdom almost in euerie Monarchie, to restraine the fury of tyrants, which if they doe not, they are traytors to their countreyes, and shall before the Lord giue an account of their treacherie. Thus farre *Beza*.

Rerum Scot.
l. 17. p. 350.

1561. The verie year after there was a contention betweene the Nobilitie and Clergie of Scotland about this matter, (as *Buchanan* reporteth:) let him tel his owne tale. *Calendis Novembribus regina ad Missam*: The *Queene* vpon the feast of All-Saints, added to her priuate Masse all the solemnitie and superstitious ceremonies of the Papists; The Ministers of the Gospel tooke it verie ill, complained thereof to the people, in their

their publike congregations, and admonished the nobilitie of their dutie in that behalfe: whereupon rose a controversie in a house of private meeting, between the Nobles and Preachers, whether the Nobles may restraine Idolatrie, that is like to breake out to a generall destruction: and by rigor of law, compell the cheefe Magistrate to his dutie, when he exceedeth his bounds? The Ministers of the Church stood stedfast in opinion, as they had formerly done, that the cheefe Magistrate may be compelled euen by forcible meanes to liue according to law: but the Noble men because of the *Queenes* fauour, hope of honour, or loue of lucre, did a litle wauer, and thought otherwise then the Ministers: and so in the end iudgement passed with the Nobles, because they were more in number and of better esteeme and reputation. Thus farre *Buchanan*.

Note how basely the Puritans esteeme the Nobilitie when they thwart them.

1568. The outlandish Churches in London concluded this Canon in a classicall Synode, *Si quisquam repugnantibus legibus patrie*: If any man vsurpe Lordship, or Magistracie, against the lawes and priuiledges of the countrie, or if he that is a lawfull Magistrate, doe vniustly bereaue his subiects of the priuiledges, and liberties which he hath sworne to performe vnto them, or oppresse them by manifest tyrannie, the inferiour officers must oppose themselves against him, for they are in dutie bound before God, to defend their people, as well from a domesticall, as a forraigne tyrant. Thus farre they.

Bezz epist. 24.

1574. We had swarmes of caterpillars: namely, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* from Rochel, to teach vs, that the senate Ecclesiasticall hath the cheefe moderation of the

fol. 145.

Christian societie, and ought to prouide that no Magistrate be defectiue in his charge, and by common care, counsell, and authoritie to ouersee, that euerie gouernour cary himselte faithfully in his Magistracie. Thus farre that author.

pag. 48.

Franco-Gallia from *Colen*, wherein we finde that the people hath power to dethrone their Princes.

pag. 306.

Iunius de iure Magistratum (as some thinke from *Geneua*.) wherein it is said, that the people haue the same right to depose kings that are tyrants, which a generall counsell hath to displace a Pope that is an heretique.

dialogo. 2.
pag. 57.

Eusebius Phyladelphus from *Edenbruge*, wherein we read, that it was as lawfull for his brethren of France, to defend themselues against the tyrannie of *Charles* the ninth, King of that name in France, as for wayfaring men to resist and repell theeues, cutthroats, and wolues: nay further, I am (saith he) of opinion with the old people of Rome, that of all good actions the murder of a tyrant is most commendable. Thus farre he.

pag. 206.

1577. came forth the *Vindicie contra Tyrannos*, with this resolution, That Princes are chosen by God, established by the people: euery priuate man is subiect to the Prince: the Multitude and the officers of state which represent the Multitude, are superiours to the Prince: yea they may iudge his actions, and if he make resistance, punish him by forcible meanes. So farre he.

lib. 3. c. 6.

1584. *Danæus* finished his booke of Christian policie, wherein among many other he propoundeth, and answereth a Noble question, as he termeth it. *Nobilis questio sequitur*. A noble question followeth, whether it be lawful for subiects to change and alter their gonerment?

Yea

Yea whether it may be done by godly men with a good conscience? his answer is. The cheefe Magistrate, that notoriously and willfully violateth the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, may be displaced by godly subiects, with a good conscience. And this is his reason, *Reges summiq; Magistratus*, Kings and cheefe Magistrates are the vassalls of the kingdome, and of the Commonwealth where they rule: Wherefore, they may be dispossessed & deiected when they shall obstinately attempt any thing, against the feudall lawes of the kingdome where they gouerne, as Kings and cheefe Magistrates. And it is truly said, that as a generall councell, is aboute the Pope, so the kingdome or the Peeres of the Land, are aboute the King. Thus farre *Daneus*.

1585. *George Buchanan* proclaimed rewards aswell ^{de iure Reg. pag. 34.} for murdering kings as killing tygres. If I (saith he) had power to make a law, I would command tyrants to be transported from the societie of men into some solitarie place, or els to be drowned in the bottome of the sea, that the euill fauour of dead tyrants should not annoy liuing men. Furthermore I would award recompence to be giuen for the slaughter of tyrants, not onely of all in generall, but of euery one in particular, as men vse to reward them for their paines which kill wolues or beares, and destroy their young ones. *hec ille*.

The same yeare *Thomas Cartwright* commended *Dudley Fenner*s his *Sacra Theologia* (as they call his booke) to the world, wherein men are warranted by sundry texts of Scripture, most miserably abused, to destroy tyrants. Therein he (following the common opinion of the *Puritans*) maketh two sorts of tyrants, *Tyrannus sine titulo*, ^{lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 185.}

and *Tyrannus exercitio*. For the tyrant without title: He is confident, that any man may cut his throat. *Hinc quisq; priuatus resistet, etiam si potest e medio tollat*, let euerie private man resist him, and if he can, take away his life. For the Tyrant exercent: hauing described him to be a Prince, that doth wilfully dissolue all, or the chiefest compacts of the commonwealth, he concludeth against him, *Hunc tollunt, vel Pacifice vel cum Bello, qui ea potestate donati sunt, ut vgeni Ephori vel omnium ordinum conventus publicus*: The Peeres of the kingdome or the publike assembly of states, ought to destroy him, either by peaceable practises, or open warre. *hec ille.*

Anno 1588. *Hermanus Renecherus* published obseruations vpon the first *Psalme*, wherein he investeth the *Presbiterie* with all the *Popes* prerogatiues. Concerning the *Presbiterian* power ouer kings. This is his notable annotation: God (saith he) hath ordained the Ciuill Magistrate for the good of the ecclesiasticall order, therefore the ecclesiasticall state is the highest throne of Gods earthly kingdome, the supream seat of all excellencie, and the chiefest court wherein God himselfe is president, to distribute eternall gifts to his servants. Whereas the politicall Empire is but as it were an inferiour bench, wherein iustice is administred according to the prescription of the ecclesiasticall soueraignie: Thus satre *Renecherus*.

Robert Rollocke, a man otherwise verie learned, is caried with the current of this error, and borrowed his assertion of *M. Fenner*, whose words he expoundeth by way of *paraphras*, in his commentaries on *Daniel* printed at *Edingburge*, 1591. Though the chiefe lawfull Magistrate (saith

pag. 72.

In Daniel.
c. 5. p. 150

(saith *M. Rollocke*) doe many things vniustly and tyrannously, he may not rashly be violated, by them especially which haue not authoritie: but the Nobles or the publike assemblie of states, must reduce him to his durie, by reproofe and all other lawfull meanes, 1. Sam. 14. 46. If he doe still persist in open and desperate tyrannie, wilfully dissoluing all or the chiefeest compacts of the common wealth, priuate men must not yet medle with him, onely the Peeres, or the publike assemblie of all states to whom that charge belongeth, must provide that the Church and Commonwealth come not to desolation: though it cannot otherwise be done, then by the death and destruction of the tyrant. Better it is that an euill king be destroyed, then the Church and state together ruined. Thus farre *Rollocke*. For prooffe he referreth his reader first to the 1. Sam. 14. 46. viz. *Then Saul came up from the Philistims, and the Philistims went to their own place: ergo* Kings that are wicked may be reduced to their durie by the Peeres, or assemblie of states according to the rules of the newe *Puritan logique*. Secondly, for the killing and destroying of kings, he referreth his readers to the 2. *regum* c. 11. v. 4. 5. 6. 7. which place I thinke he neuer vouchsafed to looke vpon, but set it downe as he found it quoted in *Fenners* diuinitie, from whom he hath taken all the rest.

I will make an end with *William Bueanus*, whose booke was published at the request, and with the approbation of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, maine pillars of the Church of Geneva. 1602. They (saith *Bueanus*) which haue any part of office in the publike administration of the Commonwealth, as the Ouerscers, Senators, Consuls, Peeres,

1000 76. pag.
214

or Tribunes, may restrain the insolencie of euill kings. Thus farre he.

This *Puritan-dangerous* error is directly repugnant to the Law, the Gospel, the precepts of the Apostles, the practise of Martyrs, and the doctrine of the Fathers, Councels, and other classicall Writers, as I haue prooued in the sixe former Chapters: and will more directly shew (by the grace of God) in my other booke: wherein the holy texts of Scripture, which the *Papists* and *Puritans* doe damnably abuse against the Ecclesiasticall and Civill authoritie of Kings, shall be answered by the godly Protestants: whose labour God vsed to reforme his Church since the yeare of our Lord, 1517. and by the ancient Fathers and orthodoxall Writers in euery age of the Church. This *Puritan-position*, which authoriseth Nobles and assemblies of States against wicked kings, is the very assertion of the most seditious Iesuits, that haue liued in our age, as I will demonstrate by two or three: *Iohannes Mariana*, whose booke seemeth to be written in defence of *Clement* the fryer, who stabbed *Henric* the 3. king of France. The faults and licentiousnes of kings (saith *Mariana*) whether they raigne by consent of the people, or right of inheritance, are to be borne and endured, so long as the laws of shamefastnes and honestie, whereto all men be bound, are not violated: for Princes should not rashly be disturbed, least the commonwealth fall into greater miserie and calamitie. But if the Prince make hauock of the commonwealth, and expose the private fortunes of his subiects for a pray to other men, if he despise law, & contemne religion, this course must be taken against him: Let him be admonished and recalled to his

his dutie: if he repent, satisfie the Wealepublike, and amend his faults, there ought (as I thinke) to be no further proceeding against him. But if there be no hope of his amendment, the commonwealth may take away his kingdome. And because that cannot be done (in all likelihood) without warre, they may leuie power, brandish their blades against their king, and exact money of the people, for the maintenance of their warre: for when there is no other helpe, the Peeres of the commonwealth, hauing proclaimed their king a publike enemy, may take away his life. Thus farre *Mariana*.

The Statesmen of the Kingdome (saith *Franciscus Feuardentius*) haue a soueraine power ouer their Kings: In Hester, c. 1. pag. 88. for Kings are not absolutely established, but stand bound to obserue lawes, conditions, and compacts, to their subiects: the which, if they violate, they are no lawfull Kings, but theeves and tyrants, punishable by the states. Thus farre *Feuardentius*.

Inferiour Magistrates (saith *Iohannes Baptista Ficklerus*) de iure magistr. fol. 18. are the defenders and protectours of the lawes and rightes of the state, and haue authoritie (if need require) to correct and punish the supream King. So farre *Ficklerus*.

An English fugitive, which was the author of the booke *de iusta abdicatione Henrici Tertij*, affirmeth, That all the Maiestie of the kingdome, is in the assembly of Statesmen, to whom it belongeth to make covenants with God, to dispose of the affaires of the kingdome, to appoint matters pertaining to warre and peace, to lib. 3. cap. 8. bridle the kingly power, and to settle all things that belong to publike gouernment. So farre he.

And

part. I. c. 4.
pag. 72.

And the most seditious *Doleman* saith, that all humane lawe and order naturall, Nationall, and positieue, doth teach, that the commonwealth, which gaue Kings their authoritie for the common good, may restraينه or take the same from them if they abuse it to the common ill: so farre *Doleman*, and of this opinion are many other as may appeare by *D. Morton* by whom they are discouered and refuted.

How farre this gangrene will extend, I knowe not. The kings of Christendome are daily crucified, (as Christ their Lord was) betweene two theeues; I meane the *Papist* and *Puritan*, which haue prepared this deadly poyson for Princes, whom they in their owne irreligious and traiterous hearts, shall condemne for tyrannie. I hope neither Peeres nor people will be so fond to beleue them, or wicked to followe them, which pretend the reformation of religion, and defend the subuersion of Christian states. If inferiour officers, or the public assembly of all States, will claime this power, it standeth them vpon, (as they wil avoid euerlasting damnation) not to deriue a title from Rome, Lacedemon, or Athens, (as *Calvin* doth, whom the rest followe) but from the hill of *Sion*, and to plead their interest from the law or the gospel. *Si mandatum non est presumptio est, & ad penam proficiet, non ad premium: quia ad contumeliam pertinet conditoris, ut contempto Domino colantur serui, & spreto Imperatore, adorentur Comites.* If their opposition against Kings be not commanded of God, it is presumption against God: for it is a contumely against God the creator of all states, to despise Lords and honour seruants, to contemne the soueraigne Emperour,

August. in
quest. mixt.

rour, and to reuerence the Peeres of the Empire. So farre *Augustine. My sonne (saith Salomon) feare God and the King, and meddle not with the seditions: for their destruction shall come suddenly, and who knoweth the end of them?* The conclusion of all is, That Kings haue supream and absolute authoritie vnder God on earth, not because all things are subiect to their pleasure, which were plaine tyrannie, not Christian soueraigntie: but because all persons, within their dominions, stand bound in lawe, allegiance, and conscience, to obey their pleasure, or to abide their punishment. And Kings themselues, are no way subiect to the controule, censure, or punishment, of any earthly man, but reserued by speciall prerogatiue to the most fearefull and righteous iudgement of God, with whome there is no respect of persons. He whose seruants they are, *will beate them with a rod of iron, and breake them in peeces like a potters vessell,* if they abuse that great, and soueraigne power, (which God hath endued them withall,) to support error, to suppress truth, and to oppresse the innocent. God, of his great mercie, graunt vs the spirit of truth, to direct vs in all loyaltie, that we beeing not seduced by these seditious Sectaries, may growe in grace, stand fast in obedience, embrace loue, follow peace, and encrease more and more in the knowledge of our Lord Iesus Christ. To whom be all praise, power, and dominion now and for euer. Amen.

Prou. 24. 21.

FINIS.

H I